

FREE AND CANDID
REFLECTIONS
Occasioned by the late ADDITIONAL DUTIES
ON
SUGARS and on RUM;

Submitted to the Consideration
OF THE
BRITISH MINISTRY,
The MEMBERS of BOTH HOUSES of PARLIAMENT,
AND
The PROPRIETORS of SUGAR ESTATES
IN
The WEST-INDIA COLONIES.

By JOHN GARDNER KEMEYS, Esq;
Of Plantain Garden River Plantation, in JAMAICA; and of BARTHOLEY
in the County of MONMOUTH.

Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves;
Sic vos non vobis velera fertis oves;
Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes;
Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves.

On my arrival here, I found established this distressing and destructive maxim
to the country, "The more we labour, the more we shall be trampled
upon."
MARMONTEL.

L O N D O N :

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JOHN GARDNER KEMPTON
OF THE CITY OF LONDON

PRINTED BY J. GARDNER KEMPTON
IN THE CITY OF LONDON

50, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C. 4

THE PROPRIETORS OF SUGAR ESTATES
IN THE WEST-INDIA COLONIES



Printed by J. Gardner Kempton
in the City of London

50, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4

The Proprietors of Sugar Estates
in the West-India Colonies

TO THE
SONS OF VIRTUE,
SUPPORTERS OF FREEDOM,
AND THE
RIGHTS OF MANKIND,
IN
ENGLAND AND IRELAND,
THESE REFLECTIONS
ARE WITH
THE GREATEST VENERATION
DEDICATED
BY
THEIR MOST RESPECTFUL,
AND MOST HUMBLE SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

TO THE

SONS OF VIRTY

SUPPORTERS OF FREEDOM

AND THE

ERRATA

Page 25, line 6, for probably planters—*read*, probably *five* planters.

Page 140, line 24, for rour eceiving—*read*, our receiving.

Page 146, line 20, for more opprefive—*read*, more expreffive.

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THE AUTHOR

P R E F A C E.

NO man can be more worthily engaged than in the study of public affairs; in this it may be truly said, as in every other virtuous and praise-worthy employment, he will find his interest combined with his duty.

From casual events those powers have been called forth, which, brought into action by private individuals, have served to check the most fatal measures.

To draw the attention of the people to their sufferings by plain truths, by candid reasoning, by perseverance in just complaints; and by these to induce the Minister, or legislature, first to take into consideration, then to remove their grievances, is equally serving of government, and securing the political rights, and properties of the subject*.

“Every man, says the sensible DE LOLME, in his Essay on the constitution of England, has a right not only to lay his complaints and observations before the public; but every subject has a right to present Petitions to the King, or the house of Parliament. It is a

* Political pamphlets, and even news-papers, are no less useful for instructing the King, than for securing his subjects.

proof of the soundness of the principles on which the English Constitution is founded, that the people may not only do this, but that it has allotted to them the province of openly canvassing, and arraigning the conduct of those who are invested with any branch of public authority, thus delivering into the hands of the people at large the exercise of the censorial power.

Serjeant GLYNN, in his pleadings for Woodfall, observes, that "The public acts of government ought to lie open to public examination; it is a service done to the State to canvass them freely." Thus the conduct and errors of Parliament, of a Minister, of Government, may be pointed out to the people who will decide with Justice, and Equity on the wrongs, under which any part of their fellow-subjects suffer.

Lord Chief Justice HOLT has said, "When the liberty of the subject is invaded, it is a provocation to all the subjects of England; every man ought to be concerned for *Magna Charta*, and the laws." The liberty of the subject is invaded when the fruits of his industry are partially taken from him, by laws, to which, neither by himself, nor his representatives, he has ever given his assent.

Sir William BLACKSTONE observes, "That the oppression of an obscure individual gave rise to the famous *Habeas Corpus* act."

JUNIV.

JUNIUS, De Lolme says has quoted this observation of the Judge; and "that the same is well worth being repeated a third time, for the just idea it conveys of that readiness of all orders of men to unite in defence of common liberty;" and I say it is an observation well worthy to be repeated on every occasion, where the liberty of the most obscure person, or obscure set of men, as we in the West-Indies are accounted, is in any way violated: "When all orders of men unite in defence of common liberty," then will "the voice of the people be *the voice of God.*"

The right of property is inseparably connected with political rights; whenever that is violated, liberty is invaded: In this situation are you, my countrymen, by the injuries you suffer, which must terminate in your certain Ruin if not speedily redressed.

Mankind in general have little, or no attention to their common, their unalienable, their dearest rights: It has frequently happened that they have been destroyed by usurpations before the people have become sensible that they were in any way endangered: Few, very few think in time, of what is necessary to be done by a free people to vindicate and assert them; at least nine hundred and ninety nine out of every Thousand, in every community must be led to the standard of liberty

in defence of those rights which are preserved to the people by the persevering zeal of, I say, not more than one in a thousand. Every man can clamor, but every man has taken to himself a wife, bought a yoke of oxen, or is otherwise busy; all care is absorbed, in such private objects; the *doing* of what is essential to the salvation of the community is left to very few; every man thinks its welfare *is none of his business*, when labour, time, or money is in question. If you will not, countrymen, look at home for this truth, see it strongly exemplified in the parent state Great-Britain, where there are eight millions of people: Are there eight thousand who have ever exerted their abilities *in doing what every man ought, to save his country?* Are there eight hundred? May it not be a question if there are eighty?

The additional duty levied on Sugars in 1781 having justly alarmed the West-India Planters, as one of that body, and being interested in the consequences, I hastily threw together a few Reflections on the subject; soon after the first advices were received of such a measure being taken by administration. Since then, with concern, we have heard of further imposts being laid on Sugars and Rums by Parliament: This, with some useful informations I have gained by my subsequent enquiries, has induced me to extend
my

my observations on a matter of such infinite moment, and now, to lay them open to public view.

It is in defence of your rights, my brother planters, I am undertaking the very arduous task, "of uniting all orders of men," in which, tho' I should not succeed, yet as the good of the whole is intended, I shall presume to hope *the attempt* may claim some small share of merit; that I shall, at least, *awaken* an attention to those rights; and, that what I shall be found deficient in, will be supplied by some more able pen, who, induced by the importance of the subject, may improve upon these, or adopt other measures, that shall more effectually serve the people; when I, cordially, shall join in the tribute of acknowledgement due to his more successful exertions;—my only wish—the object of my warmest prayer—for the common interest of the Parent State and her Colonies will then be accomplished! I have at no little inconvenience, devoted much of my time to what "is equally every man's business;" but other pressing avocations deny me leisure for arranging these reflections (thus loosely thrown together as they have occurred) to the advantage I, perhaps, otherwise might have done: yet however sensible I am of their present imperfect state I must leave them as they are: I am not contending for the fame of an Author; I am so unambitious,

ous of the Title, that I should not have affixed mine to this small and temporary work, but to give an earnest that the question shall be considered with impartiality as it is discussed by a Sugar-Planter, who is, also a Land-owner in Great-Britain, and to induce those to follow the example who shall object to any of its doctrines: If any contention can arise, it must be for the good of the Commonwealth only; all others I disclaim. I do not make a profession of writing for the Public; a casual event of the greatest magnitude has brought me into action: nothing of less moment could have had this effect.

If I am more diffuse than the reader, at first sight, may think necessary, on general politics, I trust it will appear, in some degree, to be unavoidable, from the intimate connection betwixt them and that which has given occasion to these reflections; allowances will, therefore, it is hoped, be made, as well as for the manner in which I have treated my subject; *if there is MATTER worthy of his consideration, and of the notice of the public*, I persuade myself that none but the invidious, and those, perhaps, from sinister views, will cavil at the imperfections in these sheets, or think that I have done nothing for the Planters, because I have not done more. It will also be permitted me to say, that, though I have undertaken to prove their wrongs they have sustained before

fore the tribunal of the Public,——wrongs which to be redressed claim the most vigorous exertions, I account myself but as one of the least amongst them, and can consider my efforts, to serve them, but as a very feeble endeavour without, at least, their warmest and general concurrence.

While I thankfully make my acknowledgements for the assistance received from some intelligent and judicious Planters, I cannot but regret, that there is too much cause for many to blush in secret at their neglects, who might have rendered themselves essentially useful by communicating much necessary information on the state of the Island. I am notwithstanding so fully convinced of the necessity of these, or of more important speculations on our situation; and think it so much a duty I owe myself, the community in which I live, posterity, and the Empire at large (as no other person has, yet, undertaken the important task) that, in defiance of all difficulties, I presume to set forth some very evident mischiefs that must attend the impolitic, and unconstitutional burdens, with which the English West-India Colonists have long been, and now are, so unreasonably loaded: In the confidence of their rights being secured to them, have they gone out from the hive, venturing their lives in unknown and inclement regions, to the increase of the wealth, splendor,

splendor, and strength of the State ; whilst, in return, they are cruelly plundered, like the industrious bees, before they taste the sweets of their labour.

If I shall appear in any part to have written with too much warmth, those who feel it, may allow it, in some degree at least, justifiable, for, as one amongst hundreds of Planters, I have most severely felt, oppression on oppressions, which have brought ruin and misery on myself and so many others, in spite of every industrious exertion. Let not any thing be termed Abuse, without stopping to reflect how *we have been abused*, and it must then be thought *forbearance*. A mere catch-penny pamphlet writer, unconcerned in the event, having less feeling, would probably be less animated.

To the Planters I desire to be considered as appealing for the truth of what I find necessary to recite in the following sheets ; and for the probability of the effects adduced in support of the opinions delivered respecting the measures pursued by Government towards the Colonies.

To the Ministry and the Members of both Houses of Parliament I submit how far the fate of Great-Britain depends on their maturely weighing, at this very critical juncture, the limited hints of this small treatise, on the diffusive subjects of colonization and taxation ; on the redress they may give ; and on
their

their future attention to the West India Colonies.

The Author hopes, these reflections will be received in good part by the Candid, who will allow, that where he himself, his Countrymen, and their Posterity, are so deeply interested in the event, “ It is no offence for
 “ the *meanest* to offer *reasons* to the *greatest*,
 “ nor a reproach to any man to have a *reasonable* concern for his own property,” or ardently to wish that the Empire, with the Glorious Constitution of England, the boast of Britons, the envy of Nations, may be established in honour and power, to the latest ages.

their future attention to the West India Colonies.

The Author hopes, these reflections will be received in good part by the Candid, who will allow, that where he himself has Countrymen, and their Property, he is deeply interested in the event. "It is no offence to the many to offer reason to the few."
"Not a reproach to any man to have a reasonable concern for his own property, or ardently to wish that the Empire, with the Glorious Constitution of England, the Possession of Britain, the envy of Nations, may be established in honour and power, to the self agree."

REFLECTIONS

OCCASIONED BY THE

LATE ADDITIONAL IMPOSTS

ON

Muscovado SUGAR and on RUM.

THE English EMPIRE is composed of many distinct Members, or Powers; every part has equal rights, has its separate Legislature independent of the other: The question is wisely decided between its two principal Members, the Sister Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, who have happily determined that, which, it is most devoutly to be wished, may give occasion to restore peace and union to the Provinces of America and the Parent State; as it can, now, no longer be doubted that the Representatives of the Subjects of *each part* of the Empire have alone the Constitutional Right to bind themselves and those whose representatives they are; thus giving some security for the Laws being equitable and well founded. Whenever the Representatives of the Subjects of any *one part* of the Empire, make Laws to which neither themselves, nor their Constituents,

B

can

can any ways be subjected, they will not only be apt to be *too liberal* of the Produce of the labours of others, but it is more than probable, as they may not have sufficient foundation to form a sound judgment of the abilities of the people to be charged, that the Laws will be such as must prove insupportable; they must ever be inequitable, as they will, evidently, be partial, and destructive of freedom; and as they will, consequently, be unconstitutional. Freedom consists in being only subject to Laws made by *our* Representatives and to such as are founded in Wisdom and "equal for all," by which a man may be assured of enjoying, "in proportion with all others," the Produce of his industry, his natural right.* Laws should affect all the people, in each separate part, in proportion; and them only, not

* "La Terre a été déparée aux citoyens pour en tirer
" par leur travail, les biens à leur usage; ce qui con-
" stitue la seule richesse. La jouissance du fond, et des
" fruits tient à deux pivots, sûreté et liberté.

" La liberté on ne l'engage à personne pour quelque
" prix qui ce puisse être, car c'est elle seule qui constate
" la propriété: c'est un bien naturel sans lequel on re-
" nonce à tout possession. L'injustice est un fléau qui
" met l'homme en défense, s'il conçoit pourvoir y ré-
" sister, ou qui le chasse s'il en perd l'espoir. Mais sou-
" vent il souffre l'injustice comme un fléau qu'il croit
" passer. Un ouragan, un tremblement de terre ne
" font point désertir un pays parcequ'on espère que
" cela va passer. Il en est de même de l'injustice;
" semblable au fléau nonseulement elle suspend tout les
" travaux des hommes consternés, mais encore elles de-
" truit, elles les arrache. La Lésion de la propriété est
" un

not the other Members of the Empire. Reason, natural and inherent rights are only to be considered, not bad customs however long submitted to.*

The

“ un injustice notoire au sentiment de tous. L’infraction de la liberté dans la jouissance du fond et des fruits de la terre, selon la portion que les loix et les arrangemens de la société en ont départie à chaque citoyen, est lésion de la propriété. Il n’y a donc point de composition sur l’article de la liberté.”

THEORIE de L’ Impot.

“ Political Writers define a free State to be where the people are governed by Laws of their own making. There were, notwithstanding, many unjust Laws enacted in Athens during the democratical government; and in Great Britain, instances are not wanting of Laws, not only unjust, but oppressive. The legislature should adhere strictly to the Laws of nature, and calculate every one of its regulations for improving society and for promoting industry and honesty among the people.”

LORD KAIMS’s History of Man.

* “ How long soever the people may have remained in a state of supineness as to their most valuable interests, whatever may have been the conduct, or even the errors of Parliament, when the people come to see those errors, and to have a sense of their interests, the Parliament will give redress.”

De LOLME’S CONSTITUTION, OF ENGLAND.

“ An unjust law, is no law.”

RELIGION OF NATURE. Delin. Sec. 7.

“ Against the law of reason, or against justice, there is no prescription, or opposed statute, or custom; and if any such be made they be not statutes, or customs, but corruptions.” DOCTOR and STUDENT.

“ The rights of Liberty are such as neither the violence of times, nor the power of Magistrates, nor de-

The Colonies have long been subjected to unconstitutional Laws and impositions; but when partial grievances, "incompatible with the Constitution," such as we have just cause to complain of, are fully explained and become rightly understood they must be attended to and redressed.

The cruelties exercised by the Roman Creditors on those unfortunate Men who were overwhelmed with private calamities, caused by the frequent Wars in which Rome was engaged, at last roused the body of the people, who abandoned both the City, and "their inhuman fellow citizen."—They were redressed.—We, my fellow-citizens, sinking under calamities produced by the Wars in which the *State was engaged*, by impolitic and unconstitutional impositions, and by the visitations of Divine Providence (none of which will our Creditors consider) will not abandon the City without making at least one effort to convince, by other ways, our cruel oppressors of their errors; hitherto we have too passively and supinely acquiesced, almost to our ruin; it now is, or never will

"crees, or judgments, nor Acts of Parliament, nor the
 "authority of the whole people, which in other things
 "is supreme, can subvert or weaken. It is not law,
 "but servitude, for the people to be held to that to
 "which they have not assented. To be enslaved is to
 "have no will of our own in the choice of the law-
 "makers; but to be governed by rulers whom other
 "men have set over us."

DOCTOR PRICE ON CIVIL LIBERTY.

be,

be, time to awake from this lethargic insensibility.—We shall then be redressed.

The Restriction under which the West-India Planters are held to send their produce to the Markets of Great Britain, together with that under which they labour, through prohibitory Duties, of not being at liberty to manufacture the produce of their lands for those markets, preceded all their oppressions, and may justly be considered as the first of their Grievances.

Before the Civil War, in the Reign of Charles the first, the Trade to Barbadoes, then the only Sugar Island, was open and free, Dutch and other Ships went there to purchase Sugars; but soon after the Restoration several Acts of Parliament were made to confine the Trade of the Sugar Colonies to Great Britain; this first put her Neighbours on ways and means to supply themselves, as it afterwards did to circumvent her in Trade as the only Method to put a stop to her growing Strength, which they foresaw would, *from the great Increase of Seamen and Shipping employed in the West India and Guinea Trades,* become too formidable. The French spared neither Expence, nor Labor to rival England in this capital Article; and in order to effect what they had in view, after having put their Sugar Colonies into a flourishing Condition, they gave a liberty to their Ships, for a time, to carry Sugars from their Colonies directly to

the foreign Markets, which almost put an entire stop to the Export trade in England, whilst ours were, and still are confined to import their produce into Great Britain, in its raw State.

The first declension of that Trade was attended with such ill consequences that it lowered the Price so much at home, as to discourage the Merchants from sending to the colonies to purchase sugars; which obliged the planters to turn Merchant Adventurers, in a declining Trade, and to ship their produce upon their own account.

The whole Burdens of Insurance, Freight, Shipping Charges, and Commissions * which were formerly borne by the Merchants, were thus thrown on the Planters. Another great Evil that followed, from the same cause, was a combination among the buyers, † who were few in number, by which the price of sugars sunk so low as greatly to prejudice the Planters, and turn to the benefit, only of those few who were the first purchasers, not at all to that of the Consumers. Thus instead of having the greatest share, if not a most secure Monopoly, of the West India trade, has Great Britain lost that which would have proved a most considerable Source of Wealth,

* There were then no Duties.

† Every Planter knows that this Evil, frequently more than the Quantity and real Demand, influences, if not regulates, the price.

had

had every Encouragement that Policy dictated been given to the Cultivation of the Lands, to the manufacturing of, and bringing to Market the Produce of the Colonies at the least possible Expence; by which they might have given a constant supply to all, or most of the Nations, in Europe: But for want of such a supply, which was thus checked even at a time when we were only sowing the Seeds that ought carefully to have been covered for the further support of Great Britain, our Rivals in Trade were, by this most improvident conduct, under a necessity of applying themselves to the culture of the Sugar Cane. Friends and Foes were told the products of the colonies of England were restricted to *her* Markets, they were restricted to be manufactured at every hazard, at every expensive disadvantage, by a few foreigners settled there; and other nations must take Sugars under these circumstances; or depend on Colonies of their own.

These Restrictions and Duties, with the subsequent Imposts, that have occasioned this loss, are *peculiarly oppressive*, because they impolitically affect a small part of the people, about thirteen hundred, probably not so many; and are Burdens as much unknown to, as they were unexpected by the first Settlers; they had as well foreign, as the English Markets open to them, free from all Impositions, in common with their fellow Husbandmen in England, who have never experienced these oppressions, which have

served as so many Discouragements to cultivation, which alone makes land valuable: They become as well partial Burdens on, as Losses to the Cultivator, and ultimately the loss of the Nation, which would receive, by the extension of its Trade, of its navigation, and from the Consumption of its Manufactures, much greater Advantages, (thro' improvements in Husbandry within the Colonies, a free Liberty for the Cultivator to enjoy the natural advantages resulting from thence, in manufacturing the produce of his lands, and in the culture of those which are now waste within the Island of Jamaica,) than the Kingdom at present does from all this Trade, all the Restrictions, and from all the Duties levied on the Planters, unequally with the other parts of the Empire.

Restrictive trade Laws, and Imposts on produce in its raw state, must ever prove the greatest discouragement to the industry of the Husbandman.

If France admitted the Produce of the Colonies of England to be imported, into that Kingdom, *upon payment of similar imposts*, it would be optional with the English Planter, whether he would pay them, or not; as he could be under *no restriction* to send it to that Market; but the case is otherwise between Great Britain and them; their produce *must* be sent thither; they *must not manufacture* it; it *must* pay the Duties, whether on the Sales it clears the Charges or not. Such Taxes and
Restrictions

Restrictions are evidently inconsistent with common justice, with sound policy, and “incompatible with the Constitution.”

If Barley, Wheat, or Potatoes were to pay Duties before the Farmer could sell them, he would require a much greater capital than at present to carry on his business, which the Maltsters, the Distillers, the Starchmakers, and other Manufacturers are now obliged to find, who consider the Excise they pay as part of their Capital employed in Trade: Were it otherwise, either the culture of these must decrease, or a more wealthy set of People must be found to carry on the Farming Business. As the Farmer is exempt from the Duties, so is he from all restrictions; he is at liberty to manufacture his wool into Broad Cloth, to be Maltster, Distiller, &c. to send his Goods to any Market where the English have any Trade.—Why has not the Farmer in the West Indies the same liberty?—Why restrained from Manufacturing his Cotton, refining his Sugar, &c.

Agriculture is the most profitable Manufacture to a Country: “A Manufacture (says Montesquieu) which must be established before any other can.” Others, however, should not afterwards be withheld; they should not be excluded; they should be allowed; as they give encouragement to the elder and nobler Science; and are its principle Support.

port. In wise Governments, Trade, Arts, and Husbandry are all encouraged with the most liberal attention ; but the Scale is allowed to preponderate in favour of Agriculture. Even under the disadvantageous circumstances that Sugar is now refined, its consumption has increased ; and of course its cultivation has been encouraged ; but in a very inferior degree to what it would have been, had not the Planter laboured under the restriction of shipping it in its raw state, to be manufactured by others, to their Emolument, and to a certain Loss not only to him, but to the Revenue, to Trade and to the Consumer. The produce of the Lands of Great Britain constitutes her chief Riches ;—*That* of the West India Colonies their *sole* Wealth.

All States owe more to the practice of Agriculture than to any other employment, or Profession. The Establishment of Colonies is founded upon this Basis. By the Cultivation of the Lands, the inhabitants have proved eminently useful to the Parent Hives from whence they have emigrated.

The produce of the Husbandman's Labour is the only Merchandize which the whole World is obliged to deal in ; no Check ought therefore to be laid on it. *

The

* “ The decays that come upon, and bring to ruin any country, do constantly first fall upon the land.”

LOCKE.

The Right assumed by the Parliaments of Great Britain *to impose Duties on the Produce of the Lands of the Colonies in the Hands of the Cultivators*, instead of being laid on the Manufacturers, Retailers, or Consumers, so that the same might "equally be borne by all, in proportion to their Consumption," as the Object is not the good of those in particular who are made to bear the burden, is nothing more than "the power of the strongest," not the Dictate of Justice, or sound policy. An impartial levy of Duties within the Kingdom on its inhabitants is the *only Right, the only Power, they ought to exercise, they ought to know.*-- A general superintending Power, it must be granted, cannot be better deposited than with the parliament for the arbitration of commerce, and for directing, restraining, and regulating the relations between the different members of the empire; but this should be exercised in wisdom,—with the purest justice and impartiality. In making an offer of the produce of the labor of one part of the subjects to the exoneration of themselves, or of any other part, they do not exercise that justice, that impartiality; they do not make use of this superintending power "for the good of the whole." If this continues, Colonial Industry must perish.

The parliament ought to consider us equal in our persons and properties to any other individuals in the aggregate body of the empire, and subject only to such laws as have a regard to the well being of the whole : There can be
no

no Supremacy derogatory to such rights. What authority have the People of England, thro' their Representatives, to take from Us what they do not from themselves? What right have they to desire more than equality? Let *our* produce go free to Market, and be manufactured at our pleasure *as theirs is*, let *us* pay for what we consume, only, *as they do*.

If the Parliament, who are no more our Representatives than they are the Representatives of *any other part of North America*, usurp an authority to restrict our Trade, to impose prohibitory Duties on our Manufactures, and such partial Taxes upon the Importation of the Produce of our Land, which must be paid before we can receive any profits from it, (and which will by such Imposts be lessened, if not destroyed) we are, my Countrymen, the most *abject of slaves*! and such however insensible we, and they, have appeared to be of these oppressions, we, and our fore-fathers have been, from the moment they were first submitted to,

It may be suggested, that Hops are excised in the Cultivators hands. To this I answer, that they are not the staple produce of the Kingdom—they are Exotics, and were prohibited by ancient Acts of Parliament, being then deemed *pernicious weeds*; that they are cultivated by very few; that this is optional, as their Lands may be cultivated with the staple produce of Wheat, Oats, Barley, &c. that they have the liberty of carrying their goods to Market before they

they are obliged to pay the Excise, being allowed some Months to pay it after the Hops are cured; that they may export them to any foreign Market; and that the cultivators are the Manufacturers. Hops are in the *highest state of manufacture* before they are offered for Sale, before they are used, or consumed, as much so as loaf Sugar before it is put into a Dish of Tea; it must therefore be allowed, that Hops are excised in the Hands of the Manufacturers. Not so is it with Sugars, Cotton, Coffee, Tobacco, Indico, &c. they are the staple produce of the Colonies, they are, or were universally cultivated, *until impolitic acts of parliament destroyed the culture of the last mentioned commodity*; they are useful and necessary products, which must be had from the colonies of England, or people will get them from those of our rivals in trade, at foreign Markets. The unfortunate Planters are restrained, by Acts of Parliament, from sending their Sugars, their Tobaccos, their Cottons, &c. to Market *in the highest state of Manufacture*: They must send them to England in the raw state they are made fit for transportation; and for the liberty of vending them there, in that state, must submit to most exorbitant Imposts.

High duties tend to discourage the use of a commodity: Sumptuary laws for this purpose have been wisely made to check the consumption of unnecessary luxuries, or the use of what might be pernicious to the people: They have been wisely imposed on the produce of other countries.

countries which might interfere with the consumption of the produce of the State. Government cannot, however, have imposed the high duties on Sugars and Rums for any of these purposes, yet they have had this effect. Duties must ever be injurious when they affect necessary and useful commodities,—the produce of the lands : they are the fruits of the labour of the subjects of the Empire *.

SWIFT has, somewhere, said, something to this purpose, that Ministers are mistaken in not understanding political Arithmetick ; for when they lay on taxes they often prove, in effect, that two and two make only *one*, and sometimes in these, and others that have been as injudiciously imposed, *even less*, as I shall fully make appear hereafter.

It may also be suggested, that the land owner or holder, (who is as to the immediate produce, the land-owner) submits to a duty on the produce of his lands *in the payment of Ty-*

* “ Tout homme qui laboure & qui sème, travaille pour le public ; & l’emploi de tout son temps & de toute sa sueur, est un tribut total quotidien & continuél qu’il fournit au public. Dire au laboureur, Je veux avoir la clef de votre grenier, c’est lui dire, Je veux ordonner à vos frais & à vos risques de votre administration journalière, de votre travail, de vos semailles, de vos récoltes, de vos achats, de vos ventes, de vos repos, de vos momens, PAR MON AUTORITE. Si vous voulez la contribution forcée, exorbitante & destructive vous vous porteriez, à la violence vous en viendriez, à l’infraction de la liberté, à la lésion de la propriété, & à l’injustice & vous rompriez les liens & la corde constitutive de la société & de la souveraineté.”

THEORIE de l’Impôt,
thes :

thes : As they are taken by *the men of God*, and, we are told, BY DIVINE RIGHT; I shall not now enter into that question, as it is foreign to my subject; I shall only observe, that they are taken before the land-owner has been at the labour and expence of bringing them to his barns, of preparing them for, and sending them to market.

Were the Duties on Sugars and Rums collected *in the same divine manner*, they would not, in *times of peace*, oppress the Planters; as they *then*, with the present Imposts, will; even, though it would take considerably *more than half* the produce of their lands, instead of a tenth, for an equivalent. The Planters would if they enjoyed the remainder of the profits, free from all Duties, have more clear gains from their Plantations than they now have; as more than one half of the labour and expences attending the preparing these Goods, and sending them to market, with the Duties on the whole now payable, would then be saved.

What would the land-owners of England DO, *if any power on earth* was to say to them, Before you shall sell your Wheat, Barley, Oats, Hay, Turneps, &c. &c. you shall pay us such a Duty *as is equal to more than the half of what you raise on your lands*? The most moderate man might surely be allowed to ask these reasonable questions: How am I to pay to you this Duty before I sell my Goods, which you deny me the liberty of doing? I have expended all my money in raising and bringing them
to

to market ; how is it possible that I can continue to cultivate my lands on such terms, and under such difficulties ?

If the Duties were as heavy in proportion on Sugars, as on Rums, it would be an insurmountable obstacle for the Planter sending *any* to the Markets of Great Britain and Ireland, *were they not to be bonded*.* Such as they now are, the Duties must be advanced by the Factors ; for most of the Planters have expended all their Monies in raising and bringing their Goods to Market.

On an average throughout the Island of Jamaica there are *more* than two Hundred Acres of Canes cut for every Hundred Hogsheads of Sugar and fifty Puncheons of Rum made. They will not net *more* on the Sales, in times of Peace, after deducting the Insurance, if we may judge by former experience, than Ten Pounds Sterling per Hogshead, and Eight Pounds per Puncheon†, which amounts to fourteen

* It has nearly this effect, at the out-ports, ON RUMS, for which the Importer must THERE advance, immediately on the ships being entered, thirty-six pounds five shillings for every hundred gallons—that is, no less than the very enormous sum of three thousand six-hundred and twenty five pounds sterling, for every hundred casks of that gauge, before he sells a drop, perhaps without ever being able to sell it to any profit : That, however, has not been the concern of Government.

† These were about the average-value of Sugars and Rums during the last peace, since when there have been additional Duties, and imposts of five per Cent. on the Customs, levied at two several times, so that the Sugars that

fourteen Hundred Pounds. Was Government (as the tything Man does) to take in kind one hundred and twenty Acres, or sixty per cent. of these Canes, by way of paying the Duties, and Excise, the remaining eighty would make at the same proportion, forty Hogsheds and twenty Puncheons, which would net, on the Sales, eighteen pounds; twelve shillings sterling the hogshed, and forty four pounds five shillings the puncheon; that is one thousand six hundred and fourteen pounds, eighteen shillings; two hundred and fourteen pounds thirteen shillings more than I have *in this calculation* considered; that one hundred hogsheds, and fifty puncheons, may clear, charged with those Imposts, payable, at the out-ports, upon importation, and which now far exceed what they were ten years ago; they at present amounting, upon that quantity of Sugar and Rum, to the enormous sum of two thousand five hundred, or two thousand seven hundred pounds actually levied,* according to the Weight and Gauges. Thus it appears that the Cultivator would, then; *only give sixty per*

that gave the Planter Ten Pounds per Hogshed during the last peace, will, during the next, probably, not give more than Six-Pounds or Six Pounds ten Shillings per Hogshed.

* In effect considerably more, it is nearly equal in the whole to twenty shillings per hundred weight, for the Excise levied on Melasses Spirits, made in England, must be allowed, virtually, to be a Duty on Sugars, from whence the Melasses are taken.

cent. on the profits of his capital and fruits of his labour,* and have greater gains than by paying the Imposts upon the whole of the produce ; of course, that, as the Duties and Excise are now levied, he pays, in times of peace *more* than sixty, very near sixty five per cent.

* From the whole of the Canes cut in this Island, it appears, that two hundred Acres will not give this proportion of Sugar and Rum, but the above calculation may serve to illustrate the proposition.

“ The Sugar Cane was brought by the Moors into Spain, and cultivated by them with the greatest success, in the kingdom of Granada, Valencia, and Mercia. The Ministry, who, had prevailed on the King to banish the Moors, dreading loss of favour if they suffered the King’s Revenues to sink, were forced, in self defence, to double the Taxes upon the remaining inhabitants. What could be expected from that fatal measure, but utter ruin ? A matter that affords a lesson so instructive, merits a more particular detail. So late as the beginning of the last century, there were extensive Plantations of Sugar ; which, upon the occasion mentioned, were deeply taxed ; so as, that with the former Taxes Sugar paid 36 per cent. This branch of Husbandry, which could not fail to languish under such oppressions, was in a deep consumption when the first American Sugars were imported into Europe, and was totally extinguished by the lower price of these Sugars. Spain once enjoyed a most extensive commerce of Spirits manufactured at home, but two causes concurred to ruin that manufacture ; first, oppressive taxes ; and next, a prohibition to the Manufacturer of vending his Spirits to any but the Farmer of the Revenue ; a slavery past all endurance.”

Lord KAIMS.

If a Tax of thirty six per cent. has destroyed the Sugar Estates in those kingdoms, what right have we to expect, that a Tax of more than sixty per cent. should not destroy ours in the West-Indies ; to apprehend any thing less is a most vain delusion. So much for restrictive Trade Laws and oppressive duties ; sufficient in all conscience to sink the spirits of the Manufacturers, and ruin Sugar Planters.

Every

Every Planter who will consider this proposition with attention, will vouch that it is not over-rated in his favor. The truth of this, justly alarming, evidence must strike him with horror, who has not hitherto considered the levies in this light ; when he shall find that he has such impositions entailed on him and his posterity. If it has not the same effect on the Landholders in Great Britain, they must be callous to the sufferings of their unfortunate fellow-subjects. What people can cultivate lands on such terms ? To this oppression it is owing that there is more than twice as much waste-land in Jamaica, as there is under culture,

If that encouragement were given which sound policy dictates, there would, in a few years, be many more Sugar Works settled, and, of course, more breeding and other Farms ; which would extend Trade, give security to the Island, and plenty to the markets. It cannot be conceived that the Ministry could wish the ruin of the Colonies ; they could not as Men, as Statesmen it was not *their* interest ; nor have we Planters a thought, by our applications for relief, to distress Government ; that is not *our* interest. From what we have to propose, larger Revenues will arise, than from the improvident levies made, from time to time, by ill-informed Ministers, on the fruits of our industrious Labors, against all natural and political right. By our ruin, which must happen, upon the event of a peace, if the present Duties are continued, the price of Raw Sugar will, probably, rise to Ten Pounds per hundred

hundred weight, which it bore previous to the West India Colonies being established*; all the annual Revenues now received by Government from the produce of the Colonies, wholly upheld by the Sugar-Planters will be lost; tens of thousands of seamen will want employment, the Thames will be blocked up with useless ships, numberless manufacturers will be destitute of bread, the Empire will be shaken to its very foundation!

This makes it not only tolerably clear, but it will be the most positive, the most fatal evidence, *who it is that now pays the duties*: To prevent this ruin to the Planter, these losses to the Revenue, will it not be prudent, (nay, will it not be even *madness* not to do it whilst it is yet in time) to alter the mode of collection, in such a manner that the burden may fall on the Consumer?

I must here observe, that the Sugar-Planters pay for Duties *more* than two millions, (without saying any thing of the other products of the Colonies) even now after the loss of so many of the Islands; whilst the whole landed interest of Great Britain, the Properties of some millions of People, pays *only* two millions, when the Land Tax is at the highest. But can it with any propriety be said, that the Land-owners, and *they only* pay it? By the liberal bounty granted on the Exportation of

* Vide History of Jamaica, published 1774.—Thus the consumers in England must pay nearly four times what they do at present.

Corn; by the encouragement *that gives* to Agriculture, which raises the value of lands: By Trade, and particularly from the consumption made of the Manufactures of Great Britain within the Colonies, the Colonists *virtually* bear a part; thus in a great measure these prove indemnifications, or partial repeals *of so much of this Tax*; whilst the culture of Sugar is destroyed, under a bounty, or draw-back, on the exportation of it from Great Britain; this operating principally, if not wholly to the advantage of the Exporters, who know how to draw to *that profit to themselves*. As the demand for exportation is only occasional, the Sales of Raw Sugars are seldom increased by it.

Every man, concerned in the business, knows that the Refiners will not give an additional price *equal to the draw-back*. If Sugars are bought with a view for exportation, it is in order to gain the draw-back, or, at least, as much of it as possible, this is commonly the only profit. If purchasers bid against each other instead of being in combination (which is too frequently the case) the price depending much on such contingencies, the bounty given *may be something to the planter*; but *that something* will, probably, *be next to nothing* in respect to the whole: The planters deceive themselves if *they* imagine that, by this, *they* receive, or nearly receive, in the price they sell for, what they have paid on the importation; it is, unquestionably, the profit of others, or mostly so. If Sugars are, at the same time,

C 3

selling

selling in England and in Holland at 40s. The Bounty (at the rate of 12s. 3d. per. hundred weight of Raw Sugar) may be sufficient to bear the charges of exportation, and to give a satisfactory profit to a purchaser, but not to afford *much*, perhaps not a shilling to the importer, who pays the duty. In general, it can only induce a purchaser to give the *same price* for exportation, as is given for what is bought for home Consumption: I allow it may keep this from falling one, or two shillings when that is briskly carried on, but I can by no means subscribe to its having more extensive effects in common. If Sugars are selling at a lower price in foreign markets than in those of Great Britain, and Ireland, which is frequently the case, is there any prospect of a reimbursement to the planter? The Duties paid on such Sugars thus appear to be a *partial, oppressive, and most enormously unequal, CONCEALED land Tax.*

A judicious Writer observes, " It is a gross error to maintain, that a tax on land is the same as a tax upon the product of land. The former is no discouragement to industry and improvements: On the contrary, the higher the value of the land is raised, the less will the Tax be in proportion. By the latter, the more a Man improves, the more he is taxed. Taxes that are the least oppressive, are what are laid on Manufactures: The Tax is advanced by the Manufacturer,

“ manufacturer, and drawn from the purchaser
 “ as part of the price ; who never thinks that
 “ he is paying a Tax. In general they bear
 “ a strict proportion to the ability of the con-
 “ tributors, the opulent being commonly the
 “ greatest consumers. Every tax which tends
 “ to impoverish the nation, ought to be re-
 “ jected with indignation : Such Taxes con-
 “ tradict the very end of Government, which
 “ is to protect, not oppress, * A Coun-
 try

* Two acres of land are rented for twenty shillings,
 upon which the Landlord now pays four shillings land
 tax, if rated to the full. By dint of manure and husban-
 dry, his tenant shall raise a Crop of potatoes, the gross
 produce of which let us suppose worth forty pounds.
 If, on this, he was made to pay a Tax of four shillings
 in the pound ad valorem, (or what would be worse,
 imagining that their value, whether even saleable, or not,
 would be such as to enable the Cultivator to bear the im-
 position, or to add it to the price, as Administration,
 from time to time, have fallaciously supposed would be
 the case with the Importers of Indico and Sugars,) instead
 of the landlords tax, it would amount to eight pounds,
 an advance of no less than thirty nine times as much,
 which would be wholly taken from the fruits of his in-
 dustry, and from the capital he has employed, without
 the value of his goods being raised by such a tax. But
 if six or seven, perhaps, thirty six times more than
 the value of the Commodity, (which may be the Plan-
 ter's case by the Imposts on Rum) was raised on his Pro-
 duct, would not make every Man, in England, revolt
 against such an enormous oppression ? Whilst such Du-
 ties will not raise the value of the Goods, they incon-
 testibly tend to impoverish the Colonies and the Nation.

“ Whatever be the Duties, the Merchant,” (or Plan-
 “ ter) and Farmer, says Lord Kaimes, must regulate their
 “ price by the Market.”

It is well known that the Landlords throughout Great
 Britain do not pay on an average, more than eighteen

“ try impoverishd by oppressive taxes will
 “ reduce Government to the same situation,
 on,

pence, when the land tax is at four shillings in the pound (in many parts of Scotland, I believe, they do not pay above three pence) although in the foregoing calculation I have supposed them to pay the tax to the full. It will, hereafter, appear, that we have in Jamaica two hundred and eighty thousand acres in Canes, of which two hundred and ten thousand are annually cut; and make from sixty eight to seventy thousand Tons of Sugar, and four million, two hundred thousand Gallons of Rum; this; the product of the land, would give a Revenue of more than two millions; two hundred thousand pounds sterling, if the whole was imported into England under the present Imposts: A Tax of more than ten pounds per acre, on all the Cane Land from which we derive any income, instead of nine-pence, the extent of what is actually paid, at an average value, in England: At ten pounds per acre it is as 266, and upwards, to one: An inequality among subjects not to be paralleled in the history of any other country. The reader will find further instances of these unjust and impolitic taxations on the Planters in the note to page 5.

When Taxes are thus unequal, unconstitutional and ruinous, Justice, should, before it proves too late, be afforded to the oppressed. If it be justifiable to make any inequality it ought to be in favour of, not against those, through whose Industry, Commerce and Manufactures, receive such signal encouragement. Although the whole of our produce is not exported to England, the Duties unquestionably affect the Market here equally to the loss of the Cultivator. I must observe, that I do not calculate the Tax as charged upon such of our Cane Land as is not actually cut, that being wholly unprofitable; which is not the case with Lands in England: The Landlord or Proprietor of a Farm receives his rent whether it is in fallow, or not; as that does not affect him, he therefore pays a land tax upon the whole: the loss on the fallow land is the Farmer's equally in England as in the West Indies, but the former is wholly exempt from
 any

“ on, for what that cannot *pay* cannot
“ be *levied*.”*

Had no Imposts been levied on the produce of this Island, for these last seven years, there would not have been, at this instant, probably Planters in debt, whereas there are scarcely twice as many, now to be found, that are not; and most grievous is it to say, in general to a greater amount, than any person can afford to give for their Estates, whilst they continue subject to the loads of Duties that overwhelm them.

Since the year 1779, nine Sugar Works, that have made at least nine hundred hogheads per annum, have been thrown up† by the Proprietors, from their having no prospect of supporting them, and many are in so lingering a way, that the present martial law will in all likelihood, destroy them; at best they cannot hold out longer than for the first year of a peace, without a timely interference of the legislature of Great Britain. Instead of this, had no levies been ever made on their produce, there is not one of these Establishments but would have given a living profit to their owners!

any tax on land, or on the produce of his land, except Parochial Taxes, which are in common, whilst the latter, who is Farmer and Proprietor, is subjected to the most exorbitant taxation on the one or the other.

* Lord KA M's Sketches.

† By this the Nation in the Revenue, has sustained a loss of, probably, twenty-two or twenty-three thousand pounds sterling per annum; beside the loss to Trade and Navigation.

Government

Government has from time to time, been at most immense expences in maintaining the fortresses of St. Phillips and Gibraltar; For what? To preserve the Mediterranean Trade, &c. &c.—Of Goree, Senegal, and Pensacola, for more subordinate purposes; whilst the whole expences of the forts, and additional pay to the soldiers in the Island of Jamaica, have been, and are thrown on the Planters.—For what? To preserve that which belongs to others, *the properties of Government*, and of the Traders of Great Britain; * not of less

con-

* The insurances, Duties, Fees, Freight, Commissions, Shipping Charges, and Warehouse room, payable on one hundred and fifty thousand hogsheads of Muscovado Sugars, and thirty thousand puncheons of Rum, which upon a moderate computation, might have been annually imported into Great Britain and Ireland, had our sister colonies met with that protection it was the interest of the kingdom to have afforded them; would, at this present time, have been equal to, more, than, sterling 1,4,600,000
of which the enormous sum, of at least, 2,500,000l. would have been paid for the Duties.

The net produce of the sales of those goods, may be calculated to amount to more, at the present prices, than 3,450,000

Besides the value of about fifty thousand puncheons, and twenty thousand hogsheads, disposed of in the West Indies; which may be calculated to amount to 1,050,000

The gross value of Sugars and Rums, which would have been made in the Colonies, from this calculation appears to be equal to the immense sum of 9,100,000

IF ONLY ONE THIRD of the above sum it is allowed, would have been the value of

the

consequence, surely, than the present Commerce up the Mediterranean : therefore, for those

the other products, AND OF EVERY OTHER ADVANTAGE RESULTING FROM THE TRADE OF THESE COLONIES, the amount would have been - 3,033,333

The annual value of this trade therefore might, at this present time, have been equal, it is to be presumed, to, at least, 12,133,333 which would wholly have centered in Great-Britain and Ireland ; a trade well worth encouraging and protecting, if no other benefits had been derived from such protection and encouragement. I give this sketch, that some notion may be had of the importance of these Colonies, and that people may be enabled to form a more just idea what farther singular advantages might have resulted to Great Britain, if proper attention had been paid to the Plantations. Should it prove three or four hundred thousand pounds more, or less, than the real value, is not very material to my purpose. With what has before been said, we may learn that the West India commerce might have been made, incontestibly, more beneficial to Great Britain than all the other trade she now possesses, if that to the East Indies (which of itself is not equal to more than one third of this) is not thrown into the scale.

N. B. No particular calculation is here given of the necessary annual charges, to the Planter, and maintaining his plantation, under the denomination of contingencies, as they are elsewhere fully spoken to. They, exclusive of the Duties, with the charges above enumerated, incidental to their being exported to England, cannot be estimated at so little as twenty per cent. Thus it is evident, that the Trade and Revenue, in times of peace (having before demonstrated the latter to be more than fixty) cannot have of our produce so little as eighty per cent. Certain I am, that after all charges are made, the smaller Planters, in general, will not have,

to-

those purposes, Countrymen, you must intend the very heavy charges you thus put yourselves to ; for the sake of your *own small pittance* no man of sense can suppose you mean it. Loyal and generous you will be allowed, but before you are thus generous, you should be just, to your creditors, to yourselves, to your posterity. It is an infatuation bordering upon frenzy, for you to attempt to support such unprofitable expences ; reason tells you to leave these *to others*, which only serve the purpose of protecting *their properties* : If they do not account *them* worth preserving, on those terms, surely *yours* is not. *

On every alarm are your purses to be drained by designing men of the last doite ? Are your servants, your negroes, to be drawn from

towards paying some Interest on their capital employed, to make good every unforeseen event, and to maintain themselves and families, more than what is equal to the gross produce of *Ten*, or at the utmost *Twelve Acres*, out of every *hundred* they annually cut. Is this the boasted freedom of the constitution of England ?

* The produce of our Estates may be divided into fifths. Government and trade will have in times of peace more than four ; the fifth, nay much less than the fifth share will be left to us, out of which we must pay all expences of culture, inland carriage, and internal Taxes for the maintaining of our Government, additional pay to his Majesty's Troops, erecting of Barracks, and repairing and supporting Forts and Fortifications for the defence of the Island.

the

the culture of your lands? * But I have forgot, they are *their negroes, their lands*, is it *they* that have the produce of the lands, the fruits of your labours. You ARE *their slaves*. Oh! miserable Planters, however you fancy yourselves Masters of extensive possessions, your share in them is evidently next to nothing! The internal taxes, all of which *you* have to pay, and other charges on these properties, of which *you* have so small share, are more than adequate to your resources, without maintaining of royal forts, royal troops, and yourselves and servants as soldiers. The trade of this Colony to Great Britain, by whom alone the expences of defending it ought to be borne, is worth defending, especially as the Island is so capable of defence. There may be fifty Gibraltars in it, maintained at one fiftieth part of the expence of Gibraltar in the Streights. From the present forts, the Salt-Pond Hills, and the Hills about Rock-Fort, Port-Royal and Kingston Harbours may be rendered impregnable, as may those of Port-Morant, Port-Antonio, (where there are two most noble Harbours) and Lucea, from the heights about them. Six finer no country can boast of. But whilst encompassed with formidable enemies, you are left without a shadow of protection, (for I call four line-of-battle ships, one of which

* "The culture of the lands ought not to be dispensed with; all ranks of men are interested in it."

is arrived, as I am now writing this, and about fifteen hundred new raised soldiers, not even a shadow of protection for such an Island) other than what you afford yourselves upon every the smallest Disturbance.

To martial law, I say, we are thus forced to have recourse on every occasion, when the industrious Planter, his servants in husbandry, every machanic, every individual in the Island is to quit his habitation, his occupation, to appear in array, to be subject, as a soldier by profession, to military discipline; * leaving
our

* The militia in this Island, to consider it dispassionately, never can become formidable as a disciplined military body, from the circumstances of there being no other people than such as are constantly employed in, and absolutely necessary for, the carrying on the culture of the country. Nay there are actually too few to answer this purpose from their fluctuation, from the smallness of their number, and from there being no Manufacturers or supernumerary labourers, as in England, out of which the militia there has been formed by substitutes, when the Farmer has been left with his servants to carry on the necessary work of husbandry. For him, and them, others are trained to arms, and become effective troops, as well disciplined to face an enemy as any regulars. The agriculture of this Island is totally at a stand, or nearly so, when the militia is embodied; it should therefore never take place, if true policy is attended to. It is as necessary for Government to think of defending the fruits of our labour, as it for us to be industrious; I therefore humbly conceive, that the defence of this Island ought not to be left to the Inhabitants. Martial law is in itself odious to the Constitution of England, and unknown there. In case of an *actual invasion*, it is to be hoped however every man who knows
the

our properties at the mercy of savage internal enemies, often more to be dreaded than any unfeeling foreign ones—a situation, pointedly, guarded against in England by our ancestors, as being in its nature most abhorrent to freedom; as the exercise of such powers must be for a single moment longer than dire necessity compels: However we have at this juncture the consolation of seeing the present Commander in Chief engaged in it, with the most anxious zeal for the defence of the great charge committed by his Sovereign to his especial care, equally to his honour, as to the certain disgrace of every daring invader. Still, Englishmen cannot but know *how derogatory to their rights martial law must ever be*; even the desperate situation in which we have been left by Government to the adopting of it, on this occasion, cannot suppress sensations so naturally implanted in us: The intolerable burden of the expences, and effects of the people being drawn from their plantations, more hurtful, at this period, than even the visitation of a hurricane at the latter end of a year, can be but secondary considerations. We have, my Countrymen, too just cause of complaint, having in less than six years been left four several times to experience the ruinous effects

the value of this happy Constitution, and abhors the despotism of France and Spain, will be animated to fly to his arms in defence of liberty, notwithstanding his small pittance Government has left him.

effects of the martial law, which, I will venture to affirm, are in their consequences, equal to a total loss of the whole produce of one year of this unfortunate Island; and to the misery of whose inhabitants this scourge is superadded to the other calamities occasioned by the war in which the Parent State is engaged, to impositions heaped on impositions, and to that of two hurricanes within these last two years; by which last peculiar visitations of Providence, and by the consequences, a loss of near the value of a crop has been, and will be also sustained, for we shall continue some time to feel its effects. Under these, almost insupportable losses, and unhappy circumstances, which Government has never deigned to consider; it has been thought a proper season to take from the small share of the profits of his labour, which under former Imposts had been left to the Planter, more than the sum of *four hundred pounds sterling*,* for every hundred hogsheds of Sugar he sends to market. Unhappy, wretched, oppressed People,

* The Duty influences the price so much that every buyer here will consider it as a charge on the weights when bought, altho', by reason of the waste, Government shall not receive Duties for more than 14 Cwt. when the Hogshed has weighed to the purchaser 16 Cwt. Thus the Planter actually sustains a loss, by the additional Duty and five per cent. on the Imposts, of four hundred and fourteen Pounds, ten Shillings and eight pence Sterling on every hundred Hogsheds, or 1600 Cwt. of Sugar he sells.

People, no longer account yourselves freemen;
when you are thus made to toil for others, whilst
your

Unacquainted with the effects, and too remiss to inform themselves of the consequences, Ministers think, when Money is wanting for the support of Government, they have only to follow the examples of their predecessors, in taxing Commodities that have hitherto borne them; thus have duties impolitically been heaped on Duties, and five per cent. added to five per cent. indiscriminately: When to increase the measure of our misfortunes the Minister has; at such an unseasonable time, discovered, that Rums, from which they draw such Revenues, are at too great a price to allow the Navy to be supplied with such wholesome Spirit; and thus, out of their excess of oeconomy, depriving us of a Market for our produce, and, *are doing* what our other *Enemies cannot*, destroying the brave English Tars with poisonous British Spirits. The Genuine Jamaica Rum, the most wholesome of all Spirituous Liquor, the most pleasant Cordial Balsam; will the more it is known be the more in demand. I cannot but avail myself, on this occasion, to give the opinion of a well known ingenious writer of its qualities.

Mr. Dossie, in his Essay on Spirituous Liquors, with regard to their effects on Health says, " Spirits, when originally distilled from the various fermented liquors which afford them, rise combined, or uniting with volatile oils and acids, that correct and dulcify them, counteracting their noxious powers. In Genuine Brandy, the spirit is dulcified, by combining or uniting with the native acid of the grape, and the acetous acid generated in the fermentation; which considerably checks the violence of the astringency, and other unwholesome qualities. In Rum, the spirit is not only dulcified by the acid generated in the fermentation; but its noxious qualities, corrected and repressed in a much more effectual manner, by the volatile oil which rises with it in the distillation; and sheathes its pungency, so as to counteract, in a much higher degree, the offending qualities, than can be possibly effected thro' the dulcification of such
D spirit

your reward is, if any thing, little more than
the stipend your overseers expect for their
labour !

spirit by acid, as in the case of Brandy. In malt spirits, where there is no acid to dulcify them, but such as is generated in the fermentation, nor any volatile oil to correct them, but such as is produced in the distillation; the noxious qualities are much less counteracted than in Rum or Brandy. The same holds good of melasses spirit. For though, from the kind of materials whence it is obtained, it seems to have a considerable affinity to Rum; yet, from the circumstances of the fermentation, as it is effected in England, and from the manner of setting the wash and working of it practised there, it is so defective in the volatile oil, which is the great corrective, and gives the characteristic to Rum, that it is most palpably different from it in taste and flavor, as well as in its salubrious qualities. The melioration of Rum, by its union with the corrective substances that rise with the spirit, so diminishes the force of those qualities, which makes the ardent spirit noxious when pure, and reduces it to a mild and gentle state, that, taken in moderation, it is not only safe and wholesome, but, even in some cases, salutary and medicinal. The corrective power of volatile oils on the injurious qualities of ardent spirit, is much greater than that of dulcification by acids; and these qualities are necessarily much more restrained, or suppressed in Rum than in Brandy, according to the difference of those distilled spirits, with respect to their component substances, as above explained. This may be experimentally verified by trial, if any proper animal substance be steeped for a long time in both; when it will be found, that the plumpness and softness of such substance, will be retained much more under the action of the Rum than under that of the Brandy; though the Brandy, if genuine, will not contract and harden it, in near so great a degree as pure or rectified spirit.

There is another circumstance attending the combination of volatile oils with ardent spirit, different from that of acids with such spirits.—This is, that the union
of

labour!—Future ages will scarcely credit that the Government of England could draw such
op-

of the two bodies is stronger in the first than in the other; and does not submit to their being so easily separated by re-distillation.—On distilling Rum and Brandy, it will be found, Rum will, from this principle, bear that operation with much less change than Brandy. For if the Rum distilled, be so perfect with respect to the union of the volatile oil with the spirit, either in consequence of its being long kept, or its own original nature, as to be free from all rankness and appearance of fiery quality, it will retain its properties after a second distillation, in a greater degree than Brandy; which latter will greatly lose its peculiar smell and flavor, and be brought much nearer to the state of pure ardent spirit. The superiority of Rum over Brandy, arises, therefore, from the spirits being principally corrected in Rum, by a union with volatile oils, that more effectually counteract the noxious qualities of pure ardent spirit, than the dulcification by acids, which is the principal corrective in Brandy. On a full view of the subject, it is clearly evinced, that it is a much more safe and wholesome liquor than Brandy, by arguments drawn from the principles of chemistry, experiments of the different kinds of distilled spirits, and physiological observation.—But there is yet another authority for asserting this important truth. I mean the declared opinions, founded on observations of physicians and other medical persons of the most extensive practice and acute judgment: Who in general agree in allowing Rum to be far preferable to Brandy, with respect to health. This is corroborated, likewise, by the experiments of great numbers of others, who have made trial of both these spirituous liquors; and concur in affirming, they have found a difference in their qualities in favor of Rum. The comparative effects of Rum and Brandy, on the health, have been, also, noted at sea: Where they are particularly distinguishable: When it has happened, that in failure of being able to procure the former, the latter has been substituted. The decline of
D 2 health

oppressive and unconstitutional taxes from her Colonists, much less, that Englishmen could have so passively submitted, for above one hundred years, to such intolerable Burdens. But these, alas! however incredible, at first
fight

health that has followed has been exceedingly conspicuous on this change from the use of Rum to that of Brandy: Numbers contracting disorders, they were before free from.

In every light of examination, therefore, the preference of Rum even to the best Brandy, if it could be procured, appears most clearly manifest; and the very strong reason for the use of Rum instead of Brandy, considering the almost general sophistication of such Brandy as is to be now obtained, together with the noxious depravity of it from that sophistication, is, also, most obviously displayed on incontestible principles.—It is, therefore, hoped, that a due regard will be given to this most interesting monition, not to fall into the error here refuted, that Brandy is wholesomer than Rum; an error replete with so many bad consequences to the public, as well in other respects as from the injury done to the health of those individuals, who are so unfortunate as to embrace it.

If Rum is at too high a price, from whence does that arise? Will the late addition of five per cent. i. e. four pence per gallon, lower the price? Put Rum on a proper footing, as to the Excise, and Administration may then afford to preserve the healths of the seamen. Is it by increasing the taxes on the Colonies, that the British Government means to extend the Trade and Navigation of the Empire? Or is it meant, by wormwood and gall, to wean the froward Planters from the bosom that has hitherto nourished them, to look for support, from the hands of those who know them not: When naked and helpless they may be refused the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table! Whilst the Ministers have studied ways and means to raise money, they have practised those that have destroyed a certain resource; (in our Trade) like the foolish countryman who ripped up the hen which daily laid him the golden egg.

sight, they may appear,—however painful in detail, or galling in experience,—are truths not to be controverted.

The donation of forty thousand pounds, from Government, so ostentatiously held out as an act of charity to the distressed, bespoke a total ignorance, or a mockery of the woes of an unfortunate people, (*whose loss was above a million*) from whose industry the Revenue has drawn more than ten times what was thus bestowed, and that nearly as soon as They received the *Benevolence*.* What various

* The Writer may be allowed to make this observation with strict impartiality, having been an eye witness of their deplorable situation, who were the objects of the Ministers compassion without being one of the unfortunate Sufferers. Above fifteen months after the hurricane, he passed through the parishes of St. James, Hanover, and Westmoreland, when the condition of those districts was still such as must have deeply wounded the feelings of every man of sensibility: Families who lately were in opulence, now wanted the comforts, nay the necessaries of life, as well as those for carrying on their business: After having sustained the losses of their works, dwelling houses, furniture, and even every other article and wearing apparel, but what some preserved on their backs, whilst others were stripped, by the fury of the wind, of their very shirts and shifts; and the whole of the country, as well what had been in cultivation, as the woodlands were perfectly desolated. The sight of such misery must have made even the most rapacious Minister relent, and cease to draw taxes from such accumulated distress, which cannot, by any colouring of language, be conveyed to the imagination.

The Author of the History of Jamaica gives, in a note to the eight chapter of his first book, an account of the policy of France towards her Colonies, on similar occasions, which our Ministry should have known, and,

rious degrees of complicated misery, have the Planters experienced !—— Every part of the

if known, ought, at least, so far to have imitated, as not to have taken that occasion to increase our misfortunes, by an addition of taxes. He says, that “ the French Government considers a Planter, in their Islands, as a Frenchman venturing his life ; enduring a species of banishment, and under going great hardships, for the benefit of his country, for which reason he has great indulgencies shewn him. Whenever, by hurricanes, earthquakes, or bad seasons, the Planters suffer, a stop is put to the rigour of exacting creditors ; the few taxes that are at other times levied are then remitted ; and even money is advanced to repair their losses, and set them forward. In the French Islands, the rapidity of their settlements, their astonishing increase, and the good order by which they are sustained and conducted ; is a proof of a right turn, of their Government : The whole is the work of a wise policy.

“ In the English Colonies, where no systematic order prevails, where almost every thing, in respect to their policy, their taxation, the administration of Government and justice, their population, and their trade is wrong and left to chance ; for whom the Mother State contrives no plans, executes no regulations, except to draw a present tribute from them ; we do not observe the like flourishing progression : And they would soon decline into their original wilderness, if it were not for that preserving spirit of industry so peculiar to the English, and which is the result of their liberty.” He goes on saying, “ I should not have drawn comparisons between our Colony Government, and that of the French, but with a design to shew the propriety of this conclusion, if, under all the disadvantages of arbitrary rule, the French, by the pure force of a sound policy, have conducted their Plantations so successfully ; what degree of vigour and opulence might not our English Colonies arrive at, by uniting the fittest maxims of that policy, to our characteristic genius for industry, supported by the spirit of national freedom !”

Empire

Empire should contribute to the whole, as much in proportion as possible, and protection should accordingly be afforded to each;* but whilst the Colonies are left without security, they are subjected to contributions out of all proportion; by the restrictive trade laws; by the suppression of Manufactures; by the Duties imposed on the produce of the lands in the West Indies, in the hands of the Cultivators; and by the Planters being obliged to take every sort of Manufacture they use, from Great Britain; all species of taxes are comprised in such oppressions.

Did they in common with their fellow-subjects in Great Britain and Ireland pay Duties, only, on the Manufactures they are obliged to take from thence; had they the liberty of exporting those Goods they could Manufacture, and was every market as open to them, as to the Farmers in England and Ireland, taxes would be then chearfully borne by the Planters, as it would be "in" (some) "proportion to their con-

* " A l'égard de la sûreté, chacun sent la nécessité d'une force active qui le défende au dedans de la cupidité intestine, au dehors de celle des étrangers. En conséquence, chacun consent à contribuer à cette force publique, qui consiste réellement dans ce consentement. C'est donc son avantage que chacun considère dans cette contribution. Diminuez l'avantage, il retirera son offre. En un mot, c'est ici un marché comme tous les autres, RIEN POUR RIEN; c'est la devise des hommes, & Dieu lui-même l'a voulu."

THEORIE de l'Impot.

sumption," altho', as those Manufactures would, necessarily, come to them loaded with accumulated charges, unknown to the consumers in Europe; the Planters even then, as they must unavoidably, would, in reality, continue supporters, in a greater degree, of the public burdens, than their fellow-subjects there.

It is the interest of Great Britain, incontrovertibly, to acquiesce in the great national advantages* which she may derive from her Colonies, rather than attempt to draw partial revenues from the produce of their lands, their capitals employed in cultivation, and from their labours, at their expence, which will inevitably disable them from extending their culture, from consuming those Manufactures that must, certainly, be had of the parent State, and from giving support to Navigation and the Revenues.

Under such a policy the Colonies must be most advantageous to the parent State†; but the present deplorable situation of the Planters in Jamaica, who, notwithstanding the utmost œconomy, are universally on the brink

* In her universal commercial power it is that France will, it is highly probable establish that universal monarchy aimed at in the days of Lewis the Fourteenth, if Great Britain delays, yet but a little longer, to adopt wiser measures in her commercial councils.

† "No one is ignorant, that the Navigation of France owes all its increase and splendor to the commerce of its Sugar Islands; and that it cannot be kept up and enlarged otherwise, than by this commerce." Memorial of the Deputies of Trade to the Royal Council of France.

of

of ruin, owing wholly to the excessive charges on Sugar Estates *, shews, too evidently, the ill effects that must arise from the present mode of acting. For the sake of a temporary revenue, the *inexhaustible resources* that might be secured from the Colonies, in their trade and industry are equally disregarded with the dictates of prudence and humanity†. The great capital

* I will venture to affirm, that there are no subjects belonging to the British dominions, having such great capitals invested in the culture of lands, who live so frugally. I will say *parsimoniously*, or are more industrious than the West India farmers : And this I assert in justice to them, and in contradiction to the general received opinion of a different situation and disposition.

† “ The French have been so apprehensive of injuring
 “ their Plantations by high Duties, that no new imposition has been laid upon their Raw Sugars since the
 “ year 1698, though they have been reduced to the last
 “ distress for money ; and even at this time they lie under the most pressing exigencies for supplies. No difficulties, no straits have urged them to heighten the
 “ taxes on their Sugars ; and the event has given us a lamentable proof of the wisdom of such a policy : Their
 “ Colonies have increased to such a degree, as not only
 “ to fill the markets of France, but to wrest almost all
 “ the markets of Europe out of our hands. Their trade
 “ to the coast of Guinea, and all the other branches of
 “ commerce connected with it, have been advanced with
 “ the prosperity of their Sugar Colonies : And in the same
 “ measure as these several divisions of Commerce have
 “ thriven among the French, they have languished
 “ among the English. Their Guinea trade in particular,
 “ is at present greatly superior to ours ; they have for several years furnished not only their own colonies, but
 “ even those of the Spaniards, with Negroes, by contrivance, which we formerly did, almost entirely.” And
 if

tal required for the cultivation of the Sugar Cane, and *making of the Muscovado*. [which must be as necessarily done after the Cane is cut, as that Wheat and Barley must be threshed, in order that they may be sent to market, where there is no possibility of sending their Canes in the natural, or the Cane Juice in its crude state: *This making of the Muscovado*, cannot, with propriety, be deemed the Manufacturing of Sugar, for *refining, properly speaking, is the Manufacture*] is a burden such as the culture of no other plant in the world requires to prepare for market. Every expence previous to a sale is an addition to this burden, whether it be ultimately borne by the Planter, or the Consumer; the advances (if they can be considered only as such) made for the Duties, are therefore most evidently heavy additional imposts with which they are unnecessarily and unprofitably loaded against their consent. They are thus compelled to misapply so much of their capital, which might be otherwise profitably employed in the cultivating of more lands, or are necessitated to pay interest for so much money advanced by the factors; the poverty of the smaller Planters, in general, making it impossible for them to

if "the dictates of prudence" are not soon adopted, a monopoly of the Sugar trade, the whole navigation and riches of the West Indies will be thrown into the hands of the French. Great Britain must shortly be supplied with Sugar from her most inveterate enemy; to her total ruin, and to the aggrandizement of her formidable rival.

provide

provide a fund. On sending a hundred hog-
heads of Sugar to England, an advance must
be made, before he can have the liberty to sell
them, of so considerable a sum as eight hun-
dred and sixty pounds sterling, at the least, if
fourteen hundred weight, and when these
goods remain any time unfold, which will some-
times happen, he must expect a very conside-
rable loss of weight on what he has been made
to pay Duties, at the * rate of 12s. 3d. ~~12s.~~
together with freight and insurance.

Were Sugars bonded, as Rums are, al-
though it would relieve them from these un-
reasonable *advances* and *losses*, yet they would
continue to bear the burden of the Duties;
with which they would still be loaded, by
reason of their being levied on the Sugar in its
raw state. If the buyers were to pay them
when they purchase, *they will have Sugars* at
a lower rate; (combinations amongst the buy-
ers, in this case, must be looked for) although
they now pay nothing more on account of what
is advanced by the importers they will consider
them (as the buyers of Rum in London do)
as a part of the purchase money. Where the
importers, as at Bristol and other out ports,
pay them and the Excise on Rum, upon im-
portation, the purchasers give an additional
price as an equivalent. This appears, upon
the first view, as if the Imposts were borne by

* The Imposts actually levied on Raw Sugars, are
here collectively calculated; others which virtually af-
fect them, are elsewhere considered.

the purchasers, and consumers ; but it is evidently not so. The buyers in both places are on a par, the one pays a part to the Customs and Excise, and a part to the importer, the other paying the whole of the purchase money to the importer, whilst the price of *the Rum* is no ways regulated by the charges, *the consumption not being increased by them* ; it is the quality, the quantity at market, and the consumption (if there is no combination) that determines the price. * Had Rum never been subject to them, the consumption would have been full as great, if not greater, and it would ever have been intrinsically worth as much to the buyers, as *they* have from time to time paid for the Rum, and the Impost to *the just gain of industrious Cultivators*. This being granted, it is evident, that *they are now actually borne by the Planters* ; and so, it must be allowed, it will be with Sugars under the same circumstances. The Refiners who are the buyers of Muscovado Sugars, are the Manufacturers ; were they to pay the Duties *when they purchase* (supposing it not to have the effect before suggested) they would be oppressed. The Starch-makers, Malsters, Distillers, Tallow-Chandlers, Soap-Boilers, and others, do not pay the Excise when they buy the Wheat, the Barley, the Potatoes, &c. &c. they pay it only when they have *Manufactured* their goods, or
when

* "The value of every thing upon earth arises from its quantity in proportion to its vent, and this alone regulates the price." LOCKE.

when they have sold them. This is the case with the common Brewers, and so in justice ought it to be with the Refiners. These several trades, I repeat, do not pay the Excise until after their goods are prepared for the use of the Consumers, by which means they are but a short time, if any, out of their money; and by no means ever consider the Excise in the price of the commodities they purchase for carrying on their Manufactures.

All Duties ought to be paid *voluntarily*: They are chiefly so paid, but with exception to the produce of the Colonies. Excise on Malt, Starch, Candles, Soap, Taxes on Plate, Coaches, Houses, Windows, &c. are only paid by those who choose it, and under that choice those who have imposed the Duties share in the burden; all may by self denials be exempt; whilst the unfortunate Cultivators of the Sugar Cane, must pay what is arbitrarily *imposed by those who bear no part of the burden*, before they can have the liberty to sell the produce of their lands; they have no way to avail themselves of any exemption without desisting from the culture, which in other words, is without being as effectually ruined by their lands lying useless, as by the paying such heavy Imposts. The Planters should receive encouragement, to bring their goods to market indiscriminately with other Farmers, free from all Imposts. Wheat, Barley, Potatoes, do not yet pay any. The whole capital of Planters, and Farmers, should be devoted

voted to the culture of their lands, and in making their goods fit for market; not in unfruitful advances for the Manufacturers, Retailers, or Consumers, if it can still be supposed, they ever repay the importers. *

If

* "Importation Duties are commonly laid upon the importer before the cargo is landed, leaving him to add the Duty to the price of the Goods; facility of levying is the motive for preferring that method. But is it not hard, that the importer should be obliged to advance a great sum in the name of Duty, before drawing a shilling by the sale of his goods? It is not only hard, but grossly unjust; for if the goods perish without being sold, the Duty is lost to the importer; he has no claim against the public for restitution. This has more the air of despotism than of a free Government. Would it not be more equitable, that goods should be lodged in a public warehouse, under custody of Revenue Officers, the importer paying the Duties as the goods are sold? By the present method the Duty remains with the Collector three years, in order to be repaid to the importer, if the goods be exported within that time; but, by the method proposed, the Duty would be paid to the Treasury as the goods are sold, which might be within a month from the time of importation, perhaps a week; and the Treasury would profit, as well as the fair trader.

"There are public warehouses adjoining to the Custom-House of Bourdeaux, where the Sugars of the French Colonies are deposited, till the importer finds a market; and he pays the Duty gradually, as sales are made." Lord KAIMS.

I can consider this, in the case of raw goods imported from our Colonies, but as a palliative, there will be an appearance of more equity, but it can be no cure. Neither

If the Colonists *only imagine* that the mode of raising the Duties and Excise on Sugars and

ther importer, upon the importation, nor Manufacturer, upon the purchasing these goods, ought to be made to pay Imposts. The Maltster, the Tallow-Chandler, and others, as I have before said, are only made to pay an Excise when they have manufactured their goods. Their Houses of Manufacture are ENTERED, and there only they can legally carry on their profession, thus the Officer levies the Excise with as much facility and with less expence to Government than the Officers of Customs do the Duties upon importation. So may the refining houses, and houses for Manufacturing of Cacao and other products of the Colonies be ENTERED, and the Officer levy the Excise with the same facility.

“It rejoices me,” Lord Kaimes says, “that the same method is practised in this Island, with respect to some foreign articles, necessary in our trade with Africa : The Duty is not demanded till the goods are shipped for that Continent. It is also put in practice with respect to foreign Salt, and with respect to Rum imported from our Sugar Colonies. Besides the equity of what is here proposed, which relieves the importer from the advance of money, and from the risque, many other advantages would be derived from it. In the first place the Merchant having no occasion to reserve any portion of his capital for answering the Duty, would be enabled to commence trade with a small stock, or to increase his trade if his stock be large : Trade would flourish, and the public revenue would increase in proportion.”

If foreign Salt and foreign articles necessary in the African trade are not made to pay Duties until they are disposed of, is it not wonderful that the same policy has never extended to the produce of our own Colonies ? Rum excepted in the port of London only. What his Lordship says respecting the Merchant's having no occasion to reserve any portion of his capital, &c. is precisely what I have said respecting the Planter, who is a Merchant

and Rums is injurious, and oppressive, their *feelings* at this enlightened æra, when the rights of mankind are allowed our fellow-subjects in Ireland, and would readily be granted to the revolted Continent of America, will be gratified by Government's adopting that which they think is not so burdensome. It will be England's Glory to have the Inhabitants of the most remote and hitherto most neglected parts of the Empire enjoying unlimited freedom; equally with her own Inhabitants.

People having long and supinely acquiesced under the accumulating enormous levies imposed from time to time on Rums upon importation, deceive themselves, as I have just shewn, with the idea that they do not fall on the Cultivators; a deception too universally embraced; it is, next to the restrictions we labour under, of being confined to the markets of Great-Britain, and of not being at liberty to manufacture our produce, the principal cause of our ruin. I entreat the Planters to recollect what has been said, to connect it with what will be further observed on this subject, and to confine, at least for a little time, their serious attention to this very interesting point.

It has been stated that these imposts are at present drawn from their capital, from their

a Merchant-Adventurer, and by a subsequent note, the Reader will find, that his Lordship has by no means confined himself to the palliative above taken notice of, but in the most liberal and unrestrictive manner is for allowing a free trade, to the mutual advantage of the Colonies and of the Mother Country.

labour

labour, from their industry ; and it must now be urged, that if *THEY are not intended to be affected*, there must *not be any on Rum upon importation*. The Retailers*, or Consumers, should pay such an excise as may (on due consideration had) be judged political, and necessary to be levied, and in the same manner *that it is paid on Cyder* ; at all events, Rum ought not to pay *more than Spirits made in England* ; it is an English Spirit ; it is made by the Subjects of England, in English Colonies. It will, probably, prove impolitic to charge it even with as much, on account of the many unavoidable discouragements, unknown to the distillers in England, that the Planters continually meet with in the culture of the cane, in the making of the Rum, and during its progress from the Still to the Market.

It is well known, *that Cyder bears the same price now, in the hands of the Cultivators*, as before any Excise was laid on it ; the quantity made is as great, and *the consumption not in the least diminished* ; but had not that burden, *imposed on the Maker*, been taken off, there would *not have been so much made*, because no other than Cyder of the first quality, which bears but a small proportion to the whole, could support it. Those of inferior qualities are

* They only should be deemed Retailers of Rum who vend it, as those who are deemed such of other spirits do their commodities, or who shall sell it in smaller quantities than sixty gallons.

not brought up by the Retailers ; they are altogether consumed by the Cultivators, but who would in that case have become consumers of the better sorts only : They would never have submitted to drink poor hungry Liquors, *and to pay the same Imposts as they would have done for drinking the richest.* If the consumption *had not then diminished*, the price would certainly have risen on the Consumer, but not in proportion, it is to be presumed, to the loss in quantity sustained by the Cultivator : Thus all parties would have been injured had not the Act of Parliament imposing that, very exceptionable, Excise, been as judiciously repealed, as it had been impolitically past. These evils are now prevented by its being levied on the Retailer, and by him charged to the Consumer, who finding plenty at market has it for his use at very little additional expence ; and something similar must happen with Rum if *excised* in the hands of the Retailers or Consumers only.

The present Duties and Excise on Rums have unquestionably lessened the quantity, as they have taken from the Planter *his means* to extend the culture, and so far they have increased the price ; but not to his emolument : Government alone has reaped that advantage. This in times of peace will be most evident, when Rums before the mast, (i. e. in London, where they are sold in that manner) will, probably, not sell for more than two shillings, or
eighteen

eighteen pence only,* whilst the revenue shall receive seven shillings and three pence per gallon: Were no duties to be paid by the buyer, he would give this seven shillings and three-pence, he now pays for duties and excise, in addition to the above-mentioned prices, or to the market price, be it what it may, as the Rum would, undoubtedly, be worth this to him,

* Rum at two shillings is at the rate of ten pounds per puncheon, out of which there will be to be paid six pence, or seven pence freight; three pence the value of the cask; Insurance, Commissions, Shipping Charges, Warehouse room, and Wharfage, equal to at least four pence more per gallon. Thus the Planter will only get from four pounds, to four pounds ten shillings, or a few shillings, more, or less, for one hundred gallons of Rum landed in England, the making of which has cost him more, it will appear, if we advert to the value of his Still House, Fermenting House, Vats, Stills, and other necessary utensils, Dunder Cisterns, Dunder Clarifiers, the Aqueducts for supplying of Water, the Fuel, the Distillers Wages and Maintenance, the labour of Negroes, the Rum Store, Guinea Butts, Wainage, Warehouse room and Wharfage in Jamaica. Government, nevertheless, will receive from the fruits of the Planter's labour, industry, and capital employed so enormous a sum as *three thousand six hundred and twenty-five* pounds sterling for every 100 puncheons (of 100 gallons) he sends to market, when, perhaps, they MAY NOT, in times of peace, net him more than 400l. or 450l. sterl. as I have made appear by the above calculation. This is a suggestion, however alarming, that every candid Reader will hold the Author justified in offering to his contemplation.—The aggregate of the Imposts on Rum is about seven shillings and three pence, the Reader is requested to make his calculations accordingly. Vide note to p. 30.

or he could not afford to pay the imposts. Was the Cultivator allowed to enjoy these fruits of his labour, they would enable him to enlarge his plantation; when twice as much, probably, would be sent to market. The purchaser would then lay it in, at least, fifty per cent. cheaper, and the Consumer, "*finding plenty at market,*" would have it for his use at much less expence, whilst neither Government, nor the Cultivator, would have any reason to complain, if the Retailer, only, was made to pay such a moderate excise, as would not discourage the consumption of it.

By repealing the acts that have levied the impolitic and partial Duties and Excise on Rums, by making the addition of one shilling to the present Excise on Malt Spirits, by imposing of two shillings per gallon on foreign spirits, (particularly on French Brandies, as Rums are not permitted to be used in the kingdom of France,) and by laying, as I have said, a moderate Excise on Rum, a revenue much more than equivalent to what is now levied on *such Spirits* * may thus be raised, and the Sugar

* I do not, by mentioning particular fums, prescribe them. To have Rum excised at less than the malt, and other Spirit made in England, the Distillers, and Retailers, will say is unjust, that being a stronger and better spirit; they, however, rate them as the same when they pass off Rum, adulterated with English Spirits, for that which is genuine. Its superior quality is however no argument for greater Imposts: there was no distinction made between the Cacagee, the Styer, or White Musc Cyders;

gar Planter receive some share of that encouragement which his situation so much requires.

If

Cyders; they paid an equal excise, although I have known Styer Cyder sold at twenty pounds, and White Mus at ten shillings per hoghead at the vintage; in which case, if the casks contained a hundred gallons each, the former would have paid, at three pence per gallon, five one-quarter per cent. whilst the latter, scarcely fit for use, must have paid a tax of two hundred and fifty on the value! Raw Sugars and Rums are now as unequally charged, or more so: The Imposts on Rums, should any of them sell again at the mast, as they have been known to do, at one shilling per gallon, will be equal to about seven hundred and twenty five per cent. whilst the Imposts on such as shall sell at two shillings will be equal to *ONLY three hundred and sixty-two and half* per cent. on its value!—Is not this hard?—Is it equal between subjects?—Is it not grossly unjust?—Is it not oppression?—Is it not acting like a step-mother to the Colonists?—Is it not degrading them from being free subjects into slaves?—Rum, certainly which gives such great occasion to the extension of trade, by the expences attending the making and sending of it to market, and which is a wholesome spirit (if any can be) ought not to be assessed so high as Malt and other English spirits, that have been charged with excise, from time to time, *in order to discourage the immoderate use which the lower class of people, who are the principal consumers, have made of them, to the injury of their health, and prevention of population*;—in the metropolis more lives are lost from such ill effects, than from any other cause.

The Excise, unquestionably, ought not to be such as will in any degree affect the consumption; the trade of the kingdom being too essentially concerned, in the increase of this part of the produce of the lands in the West-Indies, to admit of it with any degree of policy;

If Ministers will make laws that shall "equal-ly be borne by all in proportion;" if they wish to encourage cultivation; if they wish to give plenty; *if they will draw a revenue from the fruits of the Planter's labour*, with any colour of justice and impartiality between the subjects of the Old and New World, something like *this* must be done. Had this kind of Policy been adopted, Rums would have been long since drawn from *that which is now made no such use of*, owing to the small and precarious value of that liquor, and great expences attending the process. *An immense increase to the quantity now made may be produced,*

Should an excise be laid on Oats, of seven shillings and three pence per bushel (or even one-third of that) which are sold from eighteen pence, to three shillings, or three shillings and sixpence, about the fluctuating price of Rum, although not raised at one-tenth part of its expence, would not the farmers of the Isle of Ely, whose staple produce they are, have just cause to say, that those of Hertfordshire, whose staple produce is Wheat, were not taxed *in proportion* with them? That this was an unjust and partial tax, as it deprived them of the fruits of their labour, as it affected them more in proportion than it did these other farmers? Would they not soon become sensible, that

probably, this has lost as much as the revenue has gained by the Imposts, which have fatally had the effect of lessening the consumption. Vide note to p. 30.

they

they could not continue the culture, as neither the buyers could afford to advance the price, or they to lower it adequate to such imposition. Neither can the Planter make Rum in times of peace, if the present exorbitant imposts shall be continued. As they would think in their own case, so, let us trust, they and their Representatives will, my much-injured fellow-labourers, think it, when they shall rightly understand the business, *unjust in our case*; however Ministers have hitherto taken from us the oyster, and left us the shell only; they will in the end be just, as Parliament was in 1693,* and as they were when they repealed the Cyder Act, the old duties upon Houses and Windows, and by a new Bill settled the rates MUCH MORE EQUITABLY, and less burthensome on the lower ranks of people.

Several other *new and important regulations* in the general commercial system of the Colonies, have been made from time to time, which have taken off former restrictions, that had long been complained of as equally impolitic and oppressive.† From these and many other

* Vide note to p. 62.

† “ No popular Assembly ever enjoyed the privilege
“ of starting, canvassing and proposing new matter to
“ such a degree as the English Commons; they are the
“ sole judges of ways and means, and have secured to
“ themselves a right of proposing Laws and Remedies.
“ In some antient Republics, when the legislature
“ wished to render a certain law permanent, and at the

other well-known similar events, let every Planter assure himself, that those restrictions and impositions, we have such just cause to complain of, are as open to redress; and that the intended applications, if supported with becoming perseverance, must meet with success, and in the end prove the salvation of the Colonies and their Parent State. On the contrary, if we continue to neglect making known our grievances, we shall be assessed from year to year, by Ministers *who know not our situation*, until we are lost past redemption, and our remissness will be pleaded, as their excuse.

The law prohibiting the exportation of Wool from Great Britain caused the price of fine Wool to fall, the quality of it to be much neglected, and the breed of sheep to decrease; by which it became necessary to import and manufacture Spanish Wool, whilst the English superiority in the woollen manufacture has been lost. As the occasional and impolitic prohibitions of the exportation of Corn has made

“ same time mistrusted their own future wisdom, they
 “ added a clause to it, which made it death to propose
 “ the revocation of it. Those who afterwards thought
 “ such revocation necessary to the public welfare, re-
 “ lying on the mercy of the people, appeared in the
 “ public assembly with halters about their necks.”
 DE LOLME'S Constitution of England—In these days,
 the introduction of such a barbarous custom into our
 houses of Parliament, is not to be expected,

other

other nations attend to Agriculture,* to give themselves that supply which they had been used to receive from Great Britain, but forbid to expect it on any, the most frivolous clamor; being raised by idle and dissolute people.

Since the beginning of this century, the Indico Planters were the most wealthy people of Jamaica; The then Ministry seeing their prosperity, so *loaded that commodity* with Duties, that the whole of the Indico trade was so totally destroyed, that instead of drawing a Revenue from that valuable production, Government was obliged, but to no purpose, to give encouragement to the Planters to re-assume the culture, by giving bounties to recall the importation, from her colonies, of that useful article of commerce, so essentially necessary in various arts and manufactures. The legislature was obliged, next, to allow a free importation from other nations, even in foreign bottoms; contrary to the policy of the Act of Navigation. From which time, the French and Spaniards have chiefly supplied us, to *their* great profit and equally to *our* detriment.

Immoderate duties have also destroyed the culture of Aloes and of Cacao, † with which
England

* France, in particular has learnt wisdom at our expence; she has for many years paid exceeding great attention to the raising of Corn.

† By a letter from a capital house in Liverpool, dated 22 July, 1782, it appears that Cacao, the growth
of

England is supplied through the same channel as she is with Indico.—Tobacco, Ginger, Coffee, Piemento, Sugar and Rum are threatened with the same fate by taxes being accumulated upon taxes. Thus have restrictive trade laws, improvident and partial duties, proved ruinous to trade and agriculture. Will not these instances of impolicy, and many others drawn from the histories of different nations, which have so much affected trade and the culture of lands, be sufficient warnings for those who should be the guardians of the rights, liberties and properties of the people?—Or will our pilots suffer us to be lost on the quicksands before us, without ever changing of their course, or even clewing up a sail?

Near half the wealth of the Colonies is prodigally spent in London in luxuries and follies: From thence Ministers have taken up an erroneous opinion as to the condition of the Sugar Planters; but they ought to have known this prodigality is not so much *the sign of wealth, as the cause of poverty*. Are we taxed because we have been thought to grow rich?—Had that been a fact, is industry to be thus checked

of the British islands, is in a manner proscribed, while the foreign Cacao is in great demand, and very dear. The words of the letter are, “Cacao (British) 48 a 88 per Cwt. nominal price, being no purchasers of British plantation, from a late act passed.—Cacao (Prize) 40 a 120 per Cwt. as in quality, at present in demand altho’ the prices are high.”

by

by partial and unjust impositions?—Are we aliens or subjects of the Empire?—Is our wealth the wealth of France, Spain, or Great Britain?—Is it that we are taxed because we are spendthrifts?—Or will Ministers take from us the little we have, and wholly destroy the Colonies?

As the policy of such a measure cannot be comprehended, we have a right to ask these and many other questions of the same nature that must occur to every thinking man. If from every Sugar Plantation the Proprietor could now spend in England fifty thousand pounds per annum, instead of a very great part of these estates not allowing their proprietors (in future times of peace) bread to eat, although the establishing of them has cost the toil of generations and a capital of seventeen, or eighteen thousand pounds sterling! Trust me, my Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses of Parliament, your rents would be better paid, your estates would never have fallen from thirty-five and forty years purchase to nineteen; for as a pebble thrown into the water will in ringlets circulate to the utmost verge of the pond, so will every mite thrown into England from us, be felt, through you, to every part of the Empire. The heavier the weight of metal, the more sensible will *you* be of its influence. Remember I forewarn you, without the gift of prophecy, that with the *fall of Jamaica, your estates will fall to ten years purchase.*

chase. Remember that the unfortunate Sugar Planters, whose forefathers and themselves have, on the faith of the Constitution of England, vested their fortunes and wasted their lives, secluded from the enjoyment and comforts of the Mother Country, in these remote parts, are *yet* the sinews of her wealth, strength, consequence and pride. By your neglect of, and usurpation over us, you are striking at your own vitals. Be warned in time. Gain wisdom from fatal experience. There are but three, or four measures that can be adopted to save *us*, to save *you*. Give us that protection against our enemies, it is your interest to bestow. Repeal all laws that impose Duties on the Produce of our lands in the hands of the Cultivators, give us the rights of manufacturing our raw goods, the fruits of our industrious honest labours, and to send them, in that perfect state, to such markets as may suit us; rights enjoyed by every Farmer in Great Britain and Ireland.—These rights we claim; we demand them as such, and for your sakes they should be granted; we ask no favours, we desire no advantages, but what you will partake in common with us.

It is luxury that inclines the people of England, who are the consumers and therefore ought to pay the taxes, to call on frugality, industry and indigence to supply, not their wants, but, their gratifications. If they would but reduce their expences, and live for
a few

a few years as the poor Planters are condemned to live, perhaps for ever, they would then no longer be tempted to swerve from the rules of equity and justice, or exert "*the power of the strongest*" in partial, impolitic wrongs, to the violation of the natural, inherent rights of their fellow-subjects :——But frugality is unknown in England ; in the West Indies, I have said, it is practised far beyond what may be generally imagined ; yet, alas ! the frugality, the industry of its inhabitants, the fertility of its soil, avails nothing if there is no resource for them to supply articles of trade, that will give a profit equivalent to the labour and capital employed in the culture of their lands.

The birthright of an Englishman, the right of man, is the right of enjoying, from such resources exclusively, the gifts of fortune and all the various fruits of his industry ; *on this* Nature's bounty bestows them, " God has willed it !" When *this* is violated, he is deprived *of that liberty* which is inherent in him : If he tamely submits he becomes a despicable slave. Rouse then, Countrymen ! fellow-sufferers—rouse from the stupor that your miseries seem to have thrown you into ; boldly and with never-ceasing complaints let the galling yoke of the insupportable oppressions that keep us on the rack be made known to those who alone can redress us. " Burdens " are willingly borne as the price of freedom ; " under any other condition, men will not support

"support them, unless they be compelled."* Under compulsion they cannot support them long. No man will exert his industry if he is not to enjoy the fruits of it, if they are to be enjoyed by others : The liberty of procuring money by our industry, is not worth having, if it is partially to be taken from us, to exonerate others from bearing a share of burdens that "ought to be borne by all, in proportion to their consumption." Let us enjoy security in these our rights, or we have but the names of liberty and property left ! People whose wealth is at the discretion of others, are in the most abject *state* of slavery, if the strictest justice and impartiality is not exercised towards them.

If *freedom* be the *principle* of the Empire, every member must think it his birthright ; and Britons know that their fellow-subjects never will be slaves.

The Imposts paid for one hundred years on the Produce of a Plantation that has made one hundred hogsheads of Sugar and fifty Puncheons of Rum, including the accumulated interest of five per cent. per annum, exceeds **ALL BOUNDS OF CREDIBILITY ; † every shilling**

* MONTESQUIEU.

† If they are supposed to have been equal, upon an average, to only two shillings and eleven pence on Sugars, and one shilling and seven pence halfpenny on Rums, the amount is more than ONE MILLION, NINE HUNDRED
AND

ling of which, however insensible he has hitherto been to it, has partially been taken out of

AND FORTY THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY POUNDS STERLING, calculating the hogheads at fourteen hundred weight, and the puncheons at one hundred gallons each. "Until the first of James the Second, Sugar was charged with a subsidy of one shilling and six pence per hundred, when an additional Duty of two shillings and four pence was added. The legislature was, however, soon convinced of the bad policy of such a Duty and suffered the act to expire on the 24th June, 1693. Then no other tax remained upon Sugar besides the subsidy of one shilling and six pence, which subsequent Parliaments injudiciously enlarged to three shillings and six pence per hundred, and this was the standing Duty from 1703, exclusive of the four and a half per cent. paid in specie at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, until about the year 1743, when a Duty was laid on Melasses Spirits made in England, of nine pence per gallon, which was virtually a duty of two shillings and seven pence per hundred weight of Sugar, and in 1744, when an additional Duty of two shillings and four pence was laid on Sugars; since which, at different periods, Duty has been accumulated on Duty."—Within forty eight years that the Author has been Proprietor of his Sugar Work, Government has taken from him more than THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS by the partial levies of Duties, (his property having, *communibus annis* sent to market above one hundred and twenty five hogheads, and seventy puncheons) and in three generations of his Grandfather, Father, and himself, very considerably more than TWO MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING, not to say any thing of the immense loss from waste and pilfering, ascertained, as will be hereafter particularly explained, to be one eighth of the gross weights of the Sugars shipped, in consequence of restrictive Trade Laws, and

of the Planter's and his predecessors pockets (for I contend that the Duties ever have, and ever must fall on the Planter) under the sanction of laws which his and their Representatives never assented to. The levies at the rates they now are, and of which the Planter and his children will be plundered, on sending the above quantity of Sugar and Rum to Great Britain, in the short space of

and prohibitory Duties: Whilst three fourths of their lands by being uncultivated, for want of resources, have remained unprofitable, as well to the commercial interests as to themselves individually. A national loss of immense treasure, which might have been reaped from their industry and wealth, as may be most easily conceived by the judicious reader; although it will be now wholly unprofitable to him to bring it under a specific calculation. This is speaking *ad rem et hominem*: And he hopes every Planter, following the example, will bring it as much home to himself; which alone has occasioned him to offer his case to their notice; he has sufficient inducement, without ever expecting a refund from Government, to take an active part in this very momentuous business to the welfare of all, even if he could only consider his own interest, as he knows, what in the course of the next twenty years, if the Duties do not sooner overwhelm him, will be taken from him, over and above the losses he must sustain from the waste on all his Sugars shipped in their raw state. The Author begs leave to observe, that if what has been so taken, was but to the amount of one half of this calculation, or even one fourth, that, and the losses which are most evident, are wrongs sufficiently glaring: He repeats that his sole inducement in offering his case to public view, is to excite his Brother Planters maturely to consider their own.

twenty

twenty years from March 1781, will amount to considerably *more* than eighty thousand pounds sterling including the accumulating interest, besides immense losses from waste, and opportunities given for pilfering; which with the Imposts, I shall hereafter speak to more fully, will be in a great measure, if not wholly, added to the Planter's capital, to the discharge of his debts, to the increase of his Plantation, the Shipping, Trade, Revenues, and to the consumption of Manufactures; whilst there is not a *hope* for him, under the present circumstances, to receive to the same period, if we have peace in our time, from the profits of a capital employed of seventeen or eighteen thousand pounds sterling, more than *eight*, or *nine* thousand pounds including all accumulating interests.* Whilst Duties on the

* Methinks, I hear some shallow, lounging, Coffee-House Politician say, "And so, Sir, you think you ought to be suffered to reap a profit of near ninety thousand pounds sterling in twenty years, from an estate that has only cost you seventeen thousand?" And why not, sagacious Sir? Is not the importer of Indico and Cocoa, who brings it from the Spanish American settlements, now it is no longer the produce of the Colonies of England, permitted to enjoy the utmost profits on what he imports? It is no longer the question, if the gains are four shillings and eight pence, or fifty pounds a hundred weight; if such profits can bear a duty, or not. Shall then the industry of the Planter be fettered, the profits of his honest toil be questioned, whilst the Merchant is at liberty to enjoy the utmost advantages of his trade? The inherent rights of man forbid it.

F

Englishmen

the raw produce of our lands, in the hands of the Cultivators, are exacted, there is no possibility

Englishmen, however they have erred, must no longer violate those dear, those sacred rights. A petty clerk quite at his ease, or a Contractor, has been suffered to make a hundred thousand pounds, or twice the money in half, or even less than a quarter of the time from fees of office, or otherwise, whilst the industrious Planter's profit on his labour is weighed, is measured out to him! Rapine has pervaded every office of the state, and has been connived at in all ranks of men; whilst Industry has been destroyed by equal want of care in those who should have been the guardians of the Peoples rights.—Is not the produce of their lands the harvest of their industry? It is not earned at the hazard of their lives and fortunes? Is it not the fruit of the inheritance of their forefathers? Does not reason tell them, does not equity say that it is more just that they who have toiled should enjoy the produce of their labours, than that it should be partially taken from them to support that Government to which "*all should contribute in proportion?*" It is not as open to you as it is to them? Come, my Lords and Gentlemen, and settle Sugar Plantations as our forefathers did, and enjoy these great advantages, these great profits, they will reward the sweat of your brow for living in the Torrid Zone, but if you will not share this with us, do not continue through envy, or from "the power of the strongest," to rob us of our birthrights. Should it be said that such extraordinary profits, by suddenly enriching us, will tend to introduce luxury and dissipation, I shall answer, that it is so much more to the advantage of the Manufactures and Trade of the Parent State which furnishes all the articles of elegance and splendor. Does it not happen with Trade, with Manufactures? Shall therefore Commerce be discouraged, because men may amass respectable fortunes? Persevering industry ought to meet with stimulating rewards, to excite every man

bility of our condition being better; but we, may *now* confidently expect, that the impolicy which induced Ministers, upon an eventual rise of the price of our produce, owing to a decrease of the quantity at market, to lay the additional duty on Sugars, and the last five per cent. on the Imposts, that gave birth to these Reflections and Animadversions, which it is to be hoped will contribute to rouse every candid Englishman in defence of Magna Charta, and the rights of his fellow-subjects, will have no influence on a virtuous Administration *.

Are

man to similar exertions. The gains of the Farmer and Planter, should no more be limited than those of the Manufacturer, and Trader. You my prosperous fellow subjects in England *have the liberty* to cultivate your lands, and reap the whole fruits of your labor; but the more we have laboured, the more we have been oppressed, by Duties being accumulated on Duties as our markets have risen; whilst your Farmers have the profits of such events: They, and you, enjoying the pleasures, the comforts, the blessings of the Garden of the World, of a healthful climate, and still the greater blessings of the happy Constitution of England, uninvaded in peace and security, (denying it to us) free from the alarms of either domestic, or foreign enemies. The din of War, which you have turned on your Colonies, is not within the hearing of your farms!

* Mr. LOCKE has observed, that " Water (which is
" necessary to the existence of man) generally bears no
" price, nor will yield any money, because its quantity
" is immensely greater than its vent, in most parts of
" the world. But as soon as water comes any where to
" be reduced into any proportion to its consumption,

Are the Farmers in England treated in the above unreasonable manner?—Are they loaded with Duties when their Wheat rises from three shillings and sixpence, to ten shillings a bushel—Are they from such a casual rise of the value of the Produce of their lands, shackled with imposts that are to last from generation, to generation, or utterly destroy them? —No, Brethren; they are at liberty to enjoy “the full fruits of their labour;” they are free from all restrictions, from all Duties on the produce of their lands,* whilst the Farmers of the West-India Colonies groan under all the enu-

“it begins presently to have a price; and sometimes “hath been sold dearer than wine.”—In Antigua *water* has sold for more than *one shilling per gallon*, some trifle less than Rum has been sold for in England. It is well for the people of Antigua that a few years ago a rapacious Minister did not consider the price that necessary of life bore, he might, with nearly equal propriety, have judged that such an eventual rise of the price would justify laying on a Duty: as from time to time Ministers have thus been induced to impose on THE OTHER products of the Colonies. If such policy as kindled the *war* had continued, the Colonists might have looked for this, from such a Minister.

• When Wheat is scarce in respect of the demand, or vent for it, the price rises, as two, or three good harvests make it cheap again, whatever the Farmer's Parochial Taxes or expences may be. Even the price of gold fluctuates, according to the demand, to the quantity at Market. On the coast of Guinea, there is frequently a difference of 100 per cent. in its value, in the very short space of a few days. All other commodities are subject to the same rule.

merated

merated insupportable burdens, sanctified by unconstitutional laws. Every burden taken off the Planter tends to the extension of the advantages I have before pointed out, and to the increase of people in the West-Indies: Consequently what they are unnecessarily and unreasonably loaded with, has the contrary effect. The proposition is selfevident, that there is not an individual but adds considerably more to trade whilst resident in the West-Indies, than he would, in the same line of life, if confined to the Mother Country. It is therefore the Interest of Great-Britain, in order to increase her Trade, her Manufactures, her Navigation, her public Revenues, dependent on her Commerce with these Colonies, not only to remove every oppression from, but to give every encouragement to the industrious cultivators *of that noblest of Plants, the SUGAR CANE*; which must remain the staple produce whilst they shall continue Colonies of any value, and which gives such life and energy to the whole, (and to the power of the Mother Country as a maritime State) that the culture of no other plant can equal. Sir Josiah Child in his discourse of Trade says, " We may reckon, that
 " for provisions, clothes and household goods,
 " seamen, and all others employed for building and fitting of ships, every Englishman
 " in Barbadoes and Jamaica creates employment for four men at home." Other subsequent writers have said for ten: the latter calculation is nearer the fact, if not the exact truth.

The Colonies in the West-Indies, fitted by nature for the production of every thing that is common to the East-Indies, and of many valuable articles which European climates cannot bring to perfection,* are not cultivated by European emigrants, as the Colonies on the Continent of North-America, in a great measure are, at least those of the Northern Provinces, but by negro slaves purchased by the proprietors of the soil; who are themselves scarcely one fifteenth of the number of the present inhabitants.

The acquisition of these Islands gave the English no increase of people, until they began to be cultivated, and very few would they, at this day, have had, if the Sugar Cane had been formerly as little profitable as in future it is like be; it is evident that the settling of them, and by the culture of that plant, the Empire has an increase of people, and that the small portion that appears to have been drawn from the Parent State cannot make them, by any means, be considered as unprofitable drains to it; as the Colonies on the Continent have been thought. There cannot be fewer

* The products of different countries and climates which might be introduced into the West-India Islands, and which are articles in Trade of great value, are almost innumerable: The following may, however, be particularized, viz Tea, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Cloves, Olives, Pistachios, Pepper, Almonds, Dates, Currants, Raisins, Wines, Oils, Silk, the Wax Tree, Tallow Tree, &c. &c.
than

than four hundred and fifty thousand negroes and mulattoes, including free people, in the several Islands *that did belong* to England; who all contributed to the consumption of her Manufactures, and to the increase of her Commerce: for every human creature in civilized States must, in some degree, contribute to these by what is eat, drank, worn, or otherwise made use of. The consumption of the Sugar and Rum every negro makes, the jar that holds his drinking water, the calabash out of which he drinks, the stool on which he sits, have this effect; he does not cut a stick without it. On an average they may be computed to be worth to Trade and the State at least sixteen pounds sterling each *per annum*. The nation has then a gain of people equal to near two millions, in respect to the value each individual is of, to be settled in Great-Britain and Ireland, for four hundred fifty thousand of the *lowest* class of people there ought not to be computed as worth more to Trade and the State than four pounds each *per annum*. This gain may be much more than doubled, by giving encouragement to these Colonies: Jamaica alone is capable of giving full employ to an additional number of negroes equal to the four hundred and fifty thousand these Islands are now supposed to contain.

But for these Colonies, they who now are, and may hereafter be, such useful laboring subjects had remained savages in the wilds of Africa, or been destroyed by their naturally

savage outrages, or by those of their fellow Barbarians *, amongst whom perpetual war is waing

* It is not a question with some naturalists but that many of the negroes imported from Africa partake of the brute creation ; not long since a cargo of them arrived in Jamaica, whose hands had little or no ball to the thumbs, whose nails were more of the claw kind than otherwise, and their want of intellectual faculties was very apparent. Every planter knows that there are negroes, who will for ever remain almost as much uninformed as when they were first bought, that they cannot be humanized as others are, that they will remain, with respect to their understanding, but a few degrees removed from the ouran-outang ; and from which many negroes may be supposed, without any very improbable conjecture, to be the offspring. It is an undoubted fact that those brutes will copulate with the female of the human species, that they, and the whole baboon tribe, have the strongest propensity for them ;—even the monkey shews the violence of his inclinations at their appearance.—May it not then be fairly conjectured, that the female negroes who live wandering in the wilds of Africa, are, there, frequently surpris'd and deflowered by the ouran-outang, or other such brutes ; that from thence they become reconciled, as women who are more civilized easily are, to similar attacks, and continue to cohabit with them. If this be granted, the Colonists of the West-Indies are instrumental in humanizing the descendants of the offspring of even brutes, (for a generation or two will change their nature, as much as the negro is changed to a mullato, mustee, or quadroon, by the intercourse of the whites and blacks) to the honour of the human species, and to the glory of the divine being.

A few quotations in support of my argument I trust will not be unacceptable to the intelligent reader ;
 " Their bestial, or foetid smell, which they all have in
 " a greater, or less degree ; the Congos, Aradas, and
 " Ang las

waging ; even for the horrid purpose of *eating their enemies*. These Cannibals within their native

“ Angolas particularly the latter, who are likewise the
 “ most stupid of the negro race, are the most offensive.
 “ This scent in some of them is so excessive strong, especially when their bodies are warmed by exercise or anger, that it continues in places where they have been
 “ near a quarter of an hour. In general, they are void
 “ of genius, and seem almost incapable of making any
 “ progress in civility and science. Their barbarity to
 “ their children debases their nature even below that of
 “ brutes. They have no moral sensation ; no taste but
 “ for women, gormandizing, and drinking to excess ;
 “ no wish but to be idle. Their children, from their
 “ tenderest years, are suffered to deliver themselves up
 “ to all that nature, or passion, suggests to them. They
 “ are represented by all authors as the vilest of the human kind, to which they have little more pretension
 “ of resemblance than what arises from their exterior
 “ form. Their brutality somewhat diminishes, when
 “ they are imported young, after they become habituated to cloathing and a regular discipline of life : But
 “ many are never reclaimed, and continue savages, in
 “ every sense of the word, to their latest period.

“ The monkey kind or anthropomorphits, so called by
 “ naturalists, because they partake more or less of the human shape and disposition ; in which we observe the
 “ palpable links which unites the human race with the
 “ quadruped, not in exterior form alone, but in the intellectual quality. The variety of them is so great,
 “ that a complete catalogue has never yet been made.
 “ As far, however, as they are yet described, we trace
 “ from the cynocephalus, which most resembles quadrupeds, in the shape of its head, through a variety of the
 “ ape-kind, which have tails and pouches, to those which
 “ have short tails, and somewhat more of the human
 “ visage ; to those which have no tails, who have a cal-
 “ lous breech, whose feet serve occasionally for hands,
 “ and who more occasionally move on all four, than
 “ erect, to the ceplus or gibbon ; from these we come

native woods would to perpetuity have remained unprofitable to England if not brought into

“ to the oran-otang species, who have some trivial resemblance to the ape-kind, but the strongest similitude to mankind, in countenance, figure, stature, organs, erect posture, actions or movements, food, temper, and manner of living.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

“ The oran-outang has no pouch, tail, or callosity, on his hind parts; these parts, and the calves of his legs, are plump and fleshy, differing entirely from the ape and monkey. All his teeth are the same as the human, his face is broad, naked, and tawney, his ears, hands, feet, head, and belly, are likewise without hair, and of the same tawney complexion: the hair, or wool, of his head, is like the human specie; he grows from five to six feet,

BUFFON.

“ The nose is flat, as is the nose of a negro, the breast of the females furnished with two paps, and they are subject to the periodical flux. The latter characteristic is equally common to the monkey-class.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

LE COMPTE, in his Memoirs of China, asserts that in the Straits of Morocco he saw some that walked erect, and had faces like those of the Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope. They made a noise like a young child; their passions appeared with a lively expression in their countenances; they seemed to be of a tender disposition, and would kiss and embrace those they were fond of.”

MR. NOEL speaks of apes, which he saw in Guinea, and calls Barris, who walked erect, and had more gravity, and appearance of understanding than any other of the ape-kind, and were passionately fond of women.”

LINNÆUS, upon authority of some voyage writers, affirms, “ that they converse together in a kind of hissing dialect

into action at the expence and risque of the Planters; by whom they are made useful industrious

“ dialect; that they possess thoughts and reflection, &c.” but Buffon suspects, “ that Linnæus has confounded the “ albinos with the oran-outang.”

It is also averred, “ that they endeavour to surprize “ and carry off negro women into their woody retreats, “ in order to enjoy them.”

LE BROUSSE says, he knew a negro woman at Loango in Guinea, who had resided three years with them; he asserts, that they grow to the height of six and seven feet, have vast muscular strength, and defended themselves with sticks.

Mr. GROSSE reports, that they resemble mankind in all their actions; a male and female he had, covered with their hands those parts which modesty forbids to expose, if gazed at.

GUAT says, that a female he saw at Java resembled strongly some Hottentot women he had seen; her stature was very large.

FRANCIS PYRARD reports, he found the Barris in the province of Sierra Leon in Guinea; that if properly instructed when young, they become very good servants.

“ The Indians associate him with the human race, under the appellation of Oran-outang, or Wild Man. “ He is a creature SUI GENERIS; he fills up the space between mankind and the ape, as this and the monkey-tribe supply the interval that is between the oran-outang and quadrupeds.” BUFFON.

“ They live in woods (as almost all Africa, on the “ coast of Guinea is uncultivated) the negroes and Indians believe them to be wild men. They conceive “ strong passions for the negro women, coveting their “ embraces; they have a conformity in the organs of generation

useful, industrious members of society, and from a savage become a civilized race. To the few

“ generation with the human species, and propagate in
 “ the same manner ; all their females suckle their young.
 “ What are the Hottentots? They are, say the most
 “ credible writers, a people certainly very stupid, and
 “ very brutal. In many respects, they are more like
 “ beasts than men ; their complexion is dark, they are
 “ short and thick-set; their noses flat, their lips very
 “ thick and big, their teeth exceedingly white, but very
 “ long and ill set, their hair black and curled like wool;
 “ they are very nimble, and run with a speed that is
 “ almost incredible. They are, “taking all things toge-
 “ ther, one of the meanest nations on the face of the
 “ earth.” ROGGEWEIN'S VOYAGE.

“ Has the Hottentot (whom we allow human) from
 “ this portrait, a more manly figure than the oran-
 “ outang.—That the oran-outang and some races of
 “ black men are nearly allied, is, I think, more than
 “ probable. The sole distinction between them and
 “ man consists in the measure of intellectual faculties.
 “ In these they do not seem at all inferior to many of
 “ the negro race ; with some of them it is credible that
 “ they have the most intimate connection and consan-
 “ guinity. The amorous intercourse between them, pro-
 “ bably, is much more frequent than is known, the ne-
 “ groes themselves bear testimony that such actually hap-
 “ pens ; and it is certain that both races agree perfectly
 “ well in lasciviousness of disposition.” HIST. JAMAICA.

Des écrivains fort estimable, pour s'être fiés à des relations
 illusoires que des voyageurs ont prêtées aux Américains des
 vices et des vertus qu'ils n'ont pas, un héroïsme qui leur
 est inconnu, et une portion de bonheur dont ils ne se sentent
 réellement pas capables de jouir. Il y a sans doute, un mi-
 lieu dans ces excès ; et nous nous flattons de l'avoir saisi,
 en réduisant l'Américain sauvage à son instinct animal.
 Il n'est proprement ni vertueux ; ni méchant. Quel motif

few emigrants from Europe who are settled
in these Islands, and who are chiefly necessa-
ry

motif auroit il de l'être ? La Timidité de son ame, la foiblesse de son esprit, la necessité, de se procurer sa subsistence au sein de la disette, l'empire de la superstition, et les influences du climat, l'egarent, et l'egarent tres loin; mais il ne s'en apparçoit pas. Son bonheur est de ne pas penser, de rester dans une inaction parfaite, de dormir beaucoup, detre se soucier de rien quand sa faim est apaisée, et de ne se soucier que des moyens de trouver sa nourriture quand l'appetit le tourmente. Il ne constru-iroit pas de cabane, si le froid et l'inclemence de l'air ne l'y forçoit. Il ne sortiroit pas de sa cabane s'il n'ent étoit chassé par le besoin : sa raison ne vieillit pas ; il rest en enfant jus'qua la mort, ne prevoit rien, ne perfectionne rien, et laisse la nature dégénerer à ses yeux, sous ses mains, sans jamais l'encourager, et sans la tirer son assoufflement. F'oncièrement paresseux pars naturel, il est vindicatif par foiblesse, et atroce dans sa vengeance, parce qu'il est lui-meme insensible : n'ayant rien à perdre que la vie, il regarde tous ses ennemis comme ses meur-triers. Si ses projets de vengeance étoient toujours sou-tenous par le courage de les exécuter, il n'y auroit pas d'animal plus terrible, et il s'eroit aussi dangereux aux Européens, qu'il l'est à l'egard des petites hordes de sa nation avec les quelles il est en guerre et qui n'étant pas plus braves que lui rendent la partie plus egale, et eternis-sent les combats. Quand on decouvrit le Canada en 1523, Les Iroquois faisoient la guerre aux Hurons, et ils la sont encore aujourd' hui le temps n'a ni adouci ; leur haine, ni epuisé leur vengeance. Ignorans, comme des sauvages ne connoissant, rien dans la nature entiere, ils sont, et doivent être timide, credules, et par consequent, superstitieux. Des que les viellard sont epuisés, et decrepit, personne ne les aides, ou les secours : on ne les apporte pas même a manger, et ils perissent le plus miserablement du monde, ils meurent pliens de vie; parce qu'ils manquent de viguer pour chasseur, et qu'ils

ty as superintendants to the labouring negroes,
is the Parent State indebted for this accession
of

qu'ils ne manquent pas absolument de forces pour respirer encore long temps. Leur petits, dont ils devroient être secourus, ne monter pas le moindre retour de tendresse pour les soins de leur education. Cependant on a prétendu que malgré ce caractère impitoyable, les sauvages, ne sont pas barbares, mais que les peuples civilisés le sont : Ce jugement outré est celui d'un misanthrope, ou d'un insensé qui s'étudie tristement à chercher des motifs pour hair le genre-humain. Si les crimes sont fréquents chez les nations les plus policées, il ne faut en accuser les sciences, ni les arts, ni les loix, mais la lâcheté de ceux qui ne s'opposent pas au crimes. — Les Naturels de la Californie ne paroissent pas avoir reçu de la nature une portion d'intelligence supérieure à l'instinct des animaux de leur péninsule.

RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES.

As it is with the Indians of America and of California, so is it with the Negroes of Africa, and with the savages of all climates. Man in the State of Nature has nothing more than animal instinct to direct him : Ideas are created by the *polish* which education (the social intercourse of man with man) gives to human nature : endowed with the faculty of speech, provided with hands, he would, nevertheless, not have an idea of the propriety of either, if, from his infancy, he dwelled amongst Brutes only. — Are these *Beings* when under the controul of their masters in the West-Indies, in such a miserable situation as in the State of Nature? Are the old and decrepit deserted and suffered to perish for want? — No, — the humane feelings of Man in his Civilized state forbids it — These poor creatures have, at least, as much attention paid to their wants by their masters, as the impotent poor, in most parishes in England, have by the generality of the church-wardens, and probably, such poor fare better in England than in most parts of Europe, although not altogether so well as those in the West-Indies. For more on this subject
vide

of such valuable subjects; for an increase to her shipping, which the mines of Mexico and Peru can never give to the kingdom of Spain, as well as for all the treasures that flow (as rivers run into the sea,) from these fruitful countries into its bosom.*

As the Planters pay, so they wholly and *solely* bear the burden of the Duties. Muscovado, or raw Sugars, have at no period, permanently, risen in price *in consequence* of what the importer has paid. A proposition that precludes, if it be allowed, and I see no possibility of its being denied *with any degree of candour*, all argument to prove that such charges fall on the consumer. They have it not in their power to fix the price of Sugars, or to

vide chap. 1. Book 3. History of Jamaica, and Buffon's Natural History.

What is said above of negroes may be thought foreign to the work, but if well weighed, will, I think, be judged not improper from a West-India Planter, who treats of the Rights of Man.—To enslave other human beings, who were in a state of freedom and happiness, whilst he complains of the usurpations of his own rights, seems a contradiction to his doctrine: But if the controul we maintain over them, is proved to be for their good, and to the welfare of society; that it is, probably, taming of brutes, at all events giving the qualities of man to beings, whether brutes, or not, who would otherwise remain to the latest period savages, and cannibals, theirs and our rights will appear in very different points of view. Give them the rights of Nature, they are Slaves, they are miserable wretches, destitute of every comfort of life

* “ The consumption of our own people, is the best
“ and

to add the charges attending their export; * they are under the absolute necessity of bringing their goods to as early a market as possible; they do not, cannot keep them, but to a loss as to quantity. The Planter must supply the duties, the insurance, the freight, and other shipping charges (for which he stands in advance) as expeditiously as he possible can, to enable him to pay the expences, and carry on the culture of his plantations, whether he has any thing left to support himself and family or not.

The price of Muscovado depends on the quality, on the *demand* the refiners have for *their* Sugars, and on the *quantity* of goods at the market, if there is no combination to affect it. An eventual rise may happen from the loss of Tobago, St. Kitts, or other islands that may fall, or from the loss of fleets, or losses sustained by hurricanes, inundations, insurrections, martial law, and other misfortunes and casualties; it may likewise happen from speculators in trade, from the consumption of this commodity's

"and greatest market for the product and manufactures
"of our own country." BRITISH MERCHANT.

* This our factors constantly tell us, by never procuring the smallest payment for our casks, even now that the puncheons cost here four pounds ten shillings each. One small instance of the *happy* effects of the *blessed* American war. If, Countrymen, your Factors have it not in their power to add the Price of the cask to that given for your goods sold by them, although they never fail to charge a handsome price for the package of every thing they send you, it is most evident they cannot have it in their power to add the Duties.—But your factors will tell

commodity's making its way to classes of people, both at home and in foreign parts, before unused to it. Should Raw Sugars have a casual rise, or even a permanent one, to five pounds per hundred, no man will advance such an absurd doctrine as, *that it is in consequence of the Imposts*. Common sense must tell every one, and every honest and impartial man must say, they would be worth just as much if the additional Imposts had not been laid on; *they are* therefore most evidently taken out of the profits of the Planter's labour. Consider how it would be, had *they* been equal to twenty shillings, or five pounds (as under some future ill-advised Administration may be dreaded, if the present grievances be not removed, or do not sooner destroy us) would Muscovadoes have, in that case, sold at an equivalent price? Consider how it will be on the event of a peace, when, it may be supposed, Raw Sugars from Jamaica will fall to thirty shillings on an average, and when the Duties must equally be paid*. The Planter must of necessity import the produce of his lands into

tell you that you are paid for the one and the other in the price; and I will say to them, 'Ad'autres Messieurs ce sont des contes: Are we such machines that every man thinks he may play on the Planter?

* Is it consonant with common justice, thus to settle a permanent tax on such a fluctuating trade, supported at great expences and hazard, by a small part of the subjects of the Empire? Justice and policy are often dissonant. Politicians may say, that policy *justifies* injustice; perhaps it may be between *nation* and *nation*, but where *subjects* only are concerned, they should ever accord.

G

Great

Great Britain, or Ireland, even when his goods cease to yield him a reasonable profit. Let them, therefore, and it is hoped the present Minister also will, draw the conclusion.* The Merchant is not so hardly dealt by; he may forbear to traffic in any particular species of merchandize, when it ceases to give him a profit.

From the injurious effects of the *enormous Imposts* now payable, as they must diminish the Planters income, the smaller Plantations will in the course of two or three years, upon the event of a peace, be given up; the contingent charges of these being such, that there are few of them which must not, necessarily, be, in many instances, at as great, or nearly as great expences, as estates making three, four, or five times as much. The produce of Plantations, in general, will not give the Proprietors three, many of the smaller, not one per cent. if any thing, on their capital employed. The gross produce of estates making one

* If the freight was at twenty shillings per hundred, as was paid from Nevis during a preceding war, and which may yet happen here, the insurance, as now, at thirty *per cent.* and the levies at twelve shillings and three pence halfpenny, with the advanced price on every thing necessary to carry on his business, even the present scarcity of Sugars at market, which has raised the price, we are advised, to seventy five and eighty shillings per hundred weight, would scarcely give a living profit to the smaller Planters. The advance of freight would be equal to eight pounds, eight shillings sterling on every fourteen hundred weight. Let the Planter deduct this from the present nett proceeds of an estate making one hundred hogheads, and he will assent to the truth of the proposition.

hundred

hundred hogheads of Sugar and fifty punch-
cons of Rum has been shewn to be, in those
times, only equal to fourteen hundred pounds
sterling: Out of which is to be deducted *at*
least eight hundred pounds sterling annually,
for contingent charges.* The negroes be-
longing

* A sketch of annual contingent charges, by which it
appears that they must be considerably more than eight
hundred pounds sterling, exclusive of Insurance, Du-
ties, Freight, Warehouse-room, Shipping, and other
incidental expences in Europe; viz.

	l.		l. s.
The Overseer	120	Amount brought up	920
A Distiller	60	Oznaburgh, blanket,	
Two under-servants	80	hats, handkerchiefs,	
Maintenance of them- selves and horses, with expences of slaves for attendants	300	pipes, knives, scif- sars, thread, nee- dles, beads	80
Wear and tear of hous- hold furniture	20	Medicines and Sur- geon's attendance, with necessaries for the hot house	60
Millwright & Carpen- ter's work	80	Hogheads	62 10
Coppersmith & Black- smith's work, and to make good all wear and tear of coppers, grating bars, stills, mill brasses, gudgeons, &c.	150	Puncheons	75
Coppers and still hang- ing and all other ma- son's work	50	Axes, hoes, wain- tire, bills, axle-trees, cat- tle chains, lamps, lamp-oil, saws, coo- per's and carpen- ter's tools, nails, paint, tar, pitch, &c. &c. &c.	80
Herrings	60	Wharfage and stor- age here	49 10
Amount carried up	920	Taxes	65
		994l. 5s. ster. Cur.	1392

longing to such Sugar Works, may be estimated to amount in number to one hundred and fifty, and their value to be fifty pounds sterling one with the other ; a loss of, at least, five per cent. may reasonably be calculated including the expences of maintaining, cloathing, taxes, &c. &c. of children from their birth till fit for labour, and of the old, infirm, and superannuated useless people ; of whom there are six at least ; and twenty children under ten years, upon old settled Plantations of this description. The Creole Negroes, before they become fit for labour, are not less expensive to the Proprietors, than those from Guinea ; which cost, on an average, at least sixty pounds sterling *before they can be made of any essential use.* * This will amount to three hundred and seventy

Thus it appears that the residuum, which I had left the smaller Planters to live upon, is really exhausted in annual contingent charges ; without a single pair of shoes or any thing else bought for the Planter, his wife and Children : Indeed I know not what they will have to support themselves and families, unless they shall act in the double capacity of Overseer and Distiller (and starve the cause in other instances) they will then save those wages, and may have fat pork and fish to eat. But I humbly conceive that a man who has a capital of seventeen or eighteen thousand pounds sterling, has a right to expect to appear in the stile, and support the character of a Gentleman. He surely richly deserves it who lives in the West-Indies and employs such a capital there.

* “ Let us suppose the Proprietor of an estate in land
 “ keeps it in his own hands, he will employ slaves, vassals, or servants to work for him. If he employs slaves
 “ in great numbers he must have Overseers to keep
 “ them at work, and as many under-servants and tradesmen

seventy five pounds per annum. The cattle and mules cannot be estimated at a less value

“ men as are necessary to procure him all the conveniences he shall require to carry on the business, and to maintain and preserve every thing in order.

“ In this œconomy he must allow those slaves not only necessary maintainance, but their children likewise. He must allow the Overseers of the slaves advantages and rewards proportionate to the authority he gives them. A slave is worth, at least, double the quantity of land which serves to breed up a child, for half the children who are born, die before seventeen, so that two children must be reared up, on an average, to have one fit for labour; it is true, the one half of the children, who die before seventeen, die faster in the first than in the following years: But the time the mothers lose in producing and attending them, is to be considered; their value, or price, ought therefore to answer, *cæteris paribus* to the quantity of land employed to breed up two slaves to maturity.”

GREAT-BRITIAN'S TRUE SYSTEM.

Seventy acres in provisions may, reasonably, be assigned for the maintaining, in bread kind, of one hundred and fifty negroes, and the value of the provisions raised on this quantity of land, may, as reasonably, be estimated at twelve pounds per acre: Besides this, an allowance of at least ten shillings a year, for each negro, must be made for salt, herrings, and other occasional animal food. If nine hundred and fifteen pounds, the amount of this, is required to support one hundred and fifty negroes, and two thirds only of what the parent consumes is supposed sufficient for the sustenance of a child until twelve years old, and this is calculated as only equal to four pounds, its food is of the value of forty eight pounds. Thus it is proved by the above quotation, (a rational way of making the estimate, and more perfect than any other that I have met with) that its value to the Master cannot be considered (without taking into the account, Poll and Parochial Taxes, Surgeon's attendance,

lue than fifteen hundred pounds sterling ; a loss of ten per cent. may be calculated, at a medium, on these, which will amount to one hundred and fifty pounds, Deduct then these three sums from the proceeds on the sales, and the Planter will be left with less than two hundred pounds to make good all calculations not here included, all unforeseen and unavoidable losses, from martial law, hurricanes, epidemical disorders, fires, earthquakes, inundations and insurrections,* to pay himself for his labour, the devoting his life to banishment in an unhealthy climate, and wretched country, destitute of many necessaries and of almost all the comforts which the Inhabitants of Europe enjoy with ease and security ; and for a capital employed in this business of at least seventeen, if not twenty thousand pounds sterling.

There may be some few instances where local advantages, or other adventitious circumstances, may make it not quite so bad, but I conceive this to be an estimate in favour of the Planters, who I fear, will not universally experience it *to be even so profitable*. A profit of not one third of what might have

Medicines, Clothing, and other incidental charges equal to at least thirty shillings per annum) at so low a rate as I have given it, of sixty pounds sterling or eighty four currency.

* Against the latter it is as much the interest of Government to guard us, as against foreign enemies.

Planter

been received, had the unfortunate industrious Planter placed his monies in the public funds; and flumbered away his life in the indolent pleasures that engage thousands of drones in England, from their first appearance IN THE WORLD, until they sink into the grave and oblivion; passing away as a shadow, without leaving posterity a trace of useful exertion to mark their former existence!

If from such small returns, they shall (as I have said they will) be obliged to give up the culture of the Sugar Cane, the greater part of their capital, their Mills, Boiling Houses, Curing Houses, Still Houses, Fermenting Houses, Rum Stores, Trash Houses, and other buildings, must instantly become a heavy incumbrance; as they will have no further use for such works: Should the mischief, however, stop there, it would be well for them, for the Colonies, for the Trade, the Manufactures, the Navigation, and the Revenues of Great Britain. But, alas! what a dismal prospect further opens to the view! Even the *total destruction* of these the most useful part of the Planters. From their numbers it is that the whole receives strength and security: If the dictates of *humanity* should not be sufficiently prevalent, *interest* should influence the *greater Planters* to give them every support; as the peculiar attention of the legislature ought to be extended towards them,

even in partial immunities, rather than let them sink under their present loads. To the culture of what other profitable branch of Trade can their lands be applied? Few, or none of the Sugar Plantations will answer for Indico, or Tobacco, the two most valuable Plants known in this hemisphere, next to the Cane: Tobacco in particular, would only answer when planted upon the very richest of the old lands. But, alas! should they turn out well for the culture of these plants, the Duties, already enormously great on Tobacco, would be increased, and Indico would, probably, soon experience its former fate, in being subjected to such, as would render it equally unprofitable. *

Fatal experience, as it has not, so it most likely will not warn unwise financiers! The same fate will await the Sugar Trade, which has attended the other, should such a Ministry unexpectedly arise, and persist in the impolitic, and unjust means of raising a revenue on the produce of our Plantations whilst in the hands

* Upon England's having lost the Maryland and Virginia trades, some few Planters in Jamaica, St. Vincent, and other Islands were induced to fell woods and clear lands to cultivate Tobacco; which they did with considerable profit; but the late Ministry gave an early check to their industry, having, in the usual impolicy of our commercial councils, begun about eighteen months since to add Duties to the former Imposts and possibly might have doubled the taxes (had they continued in power) "upon the remaining Inhabitants, dreading the loss of favor if they should suffer the Revenue to sink."

of

of the Cultivators*. Let me here ask a few questions of those who have asserted, that the burdens of all Duties falls on the CONSUMERS; Had those on Indico not fallen on the Cultivators, would the inhabitants of Jamaica have neglected its cultivation? Could that important branch of Trade otherwise have been so lost to Great-Britain, or occasion Government to offer a bounty, tho' to no purpose, to encourage her Colonists to re-assume the culture of that valuable plant? As to Coffee, Cotton, Ginger, Cocoa, or other exportable commodities, which are also loaded with Duties, their value would be so lessened, from the increase of their Cultivation, that the Planters would be left with their goods on their hands, as a reward for their toil and Attention, after having paid Duties, Freight, Insurance, &c. &c. †

Were

* As the then Minister expected and intended that the late additional Duty should be borne by the Consumers, so was it formerly thought that the Duties on Indico could not affect the Cultivators of that Plant; and until, the effects were woefully proved, it was too universally believed that ALL DUTIES FELL ON THE CONSUMERS.

† The cultivation of the Aloe, in Jamaica, has been totally destroyed within these twenty years, by the most injudicious, wanton, and unwarrantable imposition of a DUTY. This useful drug had been imported into Great-Britain in rather larger quantities, about that time, than for some years preceding: The Ministry, from this, misconceiving that the Planters profits would bear a heavy load of Duties, or, as they lately have, that all such must
fall

Were they to raise Cattle and Provisions, which could only be consumed in the Island, of these there would be soon such an abundance, as would render them of no value, with respect to traffic. What then are the Proprietors of small Sugar Estates to do? Why, they must sell their lands, their works, their negroes, their cattle, pay their debts, and, if they can get thither, starve in England; or emigrate to some other country, where they may enjoy the fruits of their labour*; for from the decrease of the value of every thing, they must not expect more than will pay their debts, if fortunately they can get as much, even if they do not owe one half of the late

fall on the Consumers, added no less a sum than four pence to the then Duty of two pence per pound. The poor Planters, who were thus made to pay that which exhausted the profits of their trade, were under the necessity of IMMEDIATELY giving up the culture of the Plant, "having their goods left on their hands, as a reward for their labours." Thus was this article of commerce lost to the Island: The more to be regretted, as it requires little, or no capital to carry on the cultivation; it comes to perfection on the worst of soils, even on the most rocky hills, was cultivated by the smaller Planters only, and would have given a profitable employment to the poorest of the people, who now stand much in need of means to employ themselves and their lands to any advantage.

* This effect, though from a different cause, happened in some degree soon after the first settling of this Colony, and by which it would have been soon ruined, had not the Government redressed the grievances complained of, as particularly mentioned in the History of Jamaica, published in 1774.

value

value of their properties ; for they begin already to fall both in price and demand. Perhaps it may be more justly said, they have now no value, and that there are no purchasers ; so that, hard as the lot assigned them would be, it is too probable they will never attain it ;— they must lie down and perish here. To whom are they to sell their lands, their works, their negroes, and their cattle ? The opulent are so few in number, compared with those who will have lands, works, negroes, and cattle to sell, that they cannot have the power of purchasing any considerable proportion of them. Those who lay out their money *will have every thing at their own price*, if any shall think it prudent to purchase ; but no man free from insanity, who can command money, will buy ; unless upon speculation, that the Imposts may be taken off, after three fourths of these properties are destroyed. To what end ? Small Sugar Plantations can be no more maintained in one man's hands, than in another's ; and the situation of lands, by reason of the interference of mountainous and rocky parts, is such, in the Colonies, Jamaica particularly, that few of those are so circumstanced, as to admit of their being united, in such a manner, as to form any number of Plantations that would make four, or five hundred hogsheds or upwards ; which alone can be cultivated to **ANY** profit, under the pressure of the present unreasonable levies ; and if the smaller are destroyed, there will not be left two hundred
estates

estates making from one hundred and fifty to six hundred hogheads ; the greater part from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty only ; probably not six of six hundred, six of five hundred, nor a dozen others that will make four hundred.*

If through droughts, inundations, temporary mis-managements, martial law, or other misfortunes and casualties, the largest Sugar Plantations should be reduced in their crops, for only a year, or two, to one hundred hogheads, or even one hundred and fifty (and events of this nature have frequently been known to reduce Plantations much lower) the amount on the sales will not be sufficient to clear the contingencies, which will be equally great as when a full crop is made ; nay probably greater ; for they may then have negroes to feed, cattle to be sent to pasture to more seasonable parts of the country ; and, from deaths, many of both to replace : Thus may such a property become burdened with debts which cannot be supported, and which ending in its total destruction, becomes a loss as well to the Community as to the Proprietor. What

* If twice the number should remain (but this is a suggestion without a hope) must not humanity bleed for the destruction brought on so many other industrious families, through the want of policy in ill formed Statesmen ? If I may prove the happy, though weak, instrument of exciting a proper attention to the sufferings of the Planters, and preventing their total ruin, my labours, my anxiety, " for the good of the whole," will more than be repaid a million fold.

then

then is the further consequent mischief? Why utter ruin to the present great and opulent Colonists ; to the Sugar and Rum trade, (which I consider as one, as they are produced from the same Plant) to the whole of the West India Commerce, (altogether maintained at the risque of the lives and fortunes of the Colonists) to the Trade, and the Manufactures, the Revenue, and the maritime power of Great-Britain ; which these Colonies and their industrious Inhabitants now principally maintain. These, and these only, are the *blessed* effects to be expected from restrictive Laws, prohibitory Duties, and the present Parliamentary Imposts upon raw Sugars and Rum on their importation into England. *All which however may be prevented by altering the mode of collecting the Revenues.* For which purpose the Acts that have imposed prohibitory Duties on the importation of refined Sugar in loaves, together with Imposts on raw Sugar and Rums, ought to be abolished ; they are most inequitable restraints and burdens ; as the finest Sugar pays no more than the coarsest ; nor Rums of ever so bad a quality less than those which are perfectly good, although there may be a difference of one hundred per cent. on their nett profits.* Thus are the Colonists deprived of

* During the last peace coarse Sugars have been sold in England as low, or lower than twenty shillings, whilst the finest of St. Kitts, and Barbadoes, were sold at three times

of the liberty, their fellow-subjects enjoy in Great-Britain, in Manufacturing the produce of their lands at their own discretion: And hence arise evidences sufficient to convince any impartial man, that these laws which so oppress the subject are founded in impolicy and injustice; and that they are in the last degree injurious to the Empire: That the voice of wisdom calls aloud for their repeal; and the substitution of others that will be equitable and constitutional. Let a reasonable Excise

times as much, and I unfortunately experienced that Rum of an inferior quality and indifferent flavour was sold for only one shilling per gallon, whilst in common it was selling at two shillings, and some at two shillings and three pence. It is a well known fact, that Rums of the same quality and proof, are frequently sold at the same time in London at a difference of two pence and three pence per gallon: The Duties, however, are the same. From such charges, and others, that Sugars are necessarily subject to, on being sent to England, the coarser goods can give little, or no returns; what will sell, in times of peace, at forty shillings will clear on the sales 100 per cent. more, than what shall be sold at thirty shillings; the charges will be the same; at least twenty shillings per hundred weight; deduct this from forty shillings, and a hoghead of fourteen hundred weight will net fourteen pounds. Deduct it from thirty shillings, and the same weight will net only seven pounds. But what will those Sugars give that shall sell for twenty two shillings only? Why a hoghead will net on the sales, — twenty eight shillings; and it is possible there may be Sugars sold under twenty shillings, the importer must nevertheless pay all the charges, and live by the loss; without a single *sous* left towards payment of the annual taxes and contingent charges of his plantation, arising within the Island. How long can this continue?

on

on refined Sugars and on Rums in the hands of the Retailers or Consumers be established. The quantities of Muscovadoes so manufactured during the last three years are easily ascertained ; and so may what will, probably, be refined for the three next years, if it shall please GOD that the Empire is in no worse a situation that it has been for these last three years, or than it may be in at present ; the whole of the revenues now charged on raw Sugars may thus be proportioned on the refined ; and levied at less expence than by customs ; the rich who fare sumptuously will then pay it, and thus will the poor be relieved, who taste, Alas ! but little of the sweets of life. In charity, let them not be grudged the small comforts they may have in eating the coarse raw Sugars ;——one eleventh part of which (that the importer is now made to pay Duties for) is actually *dirt*.* Leave them this necessary without paying taxes for it, in common with the most wealthy and luxurious : It is unworthy of a great people to draw revenues from the necessitous.

If the Consumers NOW *actually pay the Duties*, they will THEN have no cause to complain : If they do not, they will *then* do no more than, common justice will openly avow, *they should*. The CONSUMERS a-

* This offers one other good reason, unless *that* is meant to be Excised, why the levies should be raised on refined Sugars.

lone, not the CULTIVATORS, *ought ever to bear the burden of all Duties.* † Do the farmers who raise the barley, the wheat, pay the excise on malt, on starch? Within these few years the farmers, who cultivated apples and made cyder, were excised at the mill: The law was found to be oppressive, it was repealed; and the imposts have since been levied on the retailers. The poorest cyders, scarcely fit to drink, paid an excise equal to the richest: So it is with Sugars and Rums: and so it ever must be when the produce of land is excised, or taxed in the cultivator's hands. Such taxes must be unequal, oppressive, and impolitic; and will ever tend to

† Even in this case they must be most judiciously imposed, so as not to reduce the consumption, and “ as it is impossible exactly to calculate the utmost Duty which a commodity can sustain without certain destruction, we ought, for that very reason, to be cautious of overstraining it.” “ If the consumption, by too heavy a Duty, should be proportionably reduced, the Sugar Planter will suffer no less than if the Duty fell directly upon himself.” “ From hence must result manifold evils; the decay of Commerce, the diminution of the Revenue, the decrease of our Navigation, and the increase of the riches and maritime power of France. This will, it is to be presumed, induce every well-wisher of England to desire the relief of the Sugar Colonies in their present Duties.” For, “ by a removal of its Duties, Sugar might be rendered (as that experienced Merchant Sir Josiah Child advised long ago) more entirely a British commodity than White Herrings are a Dutch commodity, and more profitable too.” — *Considerations against laying any New Duty upon Sugar, published 1744.*

discourage

discourage cultivation. There is but one question on this business : Who pays the imports ? The minister said, the consumer would pay them. He intended they should. I insist that the planters pay them ; that the consumers do not. * Why not then fix these levies beyond the reach of doubt ? Let refined sugars, I repeat, **BE EXCISED**, rum and sugars imported **FREE FROM DUTIES**. If an excise of two-pence or two-pence farthing per pound † (if so much in future should be necessary) was to be laid on refined sugars, in the hands of the manufacturers, retailers, or consumers, and the customs on raw sugars repealed, with a drawback allowed on exportation, of something less than the levy, and rum excised, as I have before proposed, the present inequality of the levies would be entirely removed, and the colonists would receive such advantages as would ultimately and greatly tend to the welfare of the Mother Country. They would be relieved from the burden of the present payments, which they are obliged to make im-

* If they operate differently to what the Minister who proposed the Tax, “ expected and intended, and injuriously to those he thought *would*, and that he meant *should*, be exempt,” it affords the justest grounds for redress. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is notorious, made these declarations upon the opening of the budget in 1781.

† The proposed excise to be raised on sugars and rums, ought to be annually levied as those are upon malt, cyder, perry, &c. &c. for the quantities made annually, must be uncertain,

H

mediately

mediately on entering their sugars, (and rum^s at the out-ports) or from an interest charged for such advances made by their factors; as they would be transferred to the manufacturers or retailers, who can finally make the consumers repay them. If the planters shall refine their sugars, the advantages will be increased in various ways: First, in lessening the expences of carriage from their plantations. In the saving of cask which is now always *given* to the buyer, but may then, past all doubt, be either sold or returned. In preventing all the present enormous waste, pilfering, and *errors*, or *customary* allowances on the weights. *

In the profits on refining, in the increase of rum in consequence of this reform, which will begains at little additional expence; as the same boiling-house, overseer, servants, and boilers, sugar-pans, curing-house, fermenting-house, still-house, and distiller, which are now employed, will do for the refining, and the addition to the distilling, which may be carried on after crop; in not being so much at the

* Such as were lately claimed by certain buyers of rum on the gauges, which were, through the spirited conduct of a gentleman late of Jamaica, *to maintain his inherent right*, proved by a solemn decision in Guildhall, *by a Special Jury*, to be nothing less than palpable frauds; and such, my brother planters, trust me, you are daily suffering on the weights of your sugars, although the same resolutions have not yet been adopted to expose the Offenders to public shame.

mercy

mercy of the brokers and coopers, to whom the care and sale of the sugars are almost wholly left by the merchants in London. Those who shall not be able to refine, will, at all events, have an opportunity of selling their goods at their own doors, to manufacturers who will settle at every port in the island; or of sending to the markets in Great Britain and Ireland, which will be open to those who shall chuse to ship their raw produce.

As the further settlement of Sugar-works, Penns, Provision-grounds, and yet smaller properties increase, so will the number of white people, and so will the value of the present uncultivated Lands in Jamaica. Which Island alone will have a saving of ten thousand hogsheads of Sugar, or nearly as much, and five thousand puncheons of Rum (that must be allowed may be made from such savings) now wasted and pilfered, in consequence of their being exported in their raw state, from the time of the goods being shipped to the time of sale; a consideration well worthy the attention of the Planters, and that of the Minister as a national concern.* The present
loss

* There is a loss of two hundred weight and a half, or nearly as much *upon every sixteen hundred of raw Sugars*: The Planters do not receive payment for seven-eighths of what is shipped from Jamaica. The Author has in his hands an invoice of sixty hogsheads of Sugar sent to
H 2 London

loss to the revenue being equal to *more than two hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum* on

London the beginning of last year, that are said to have been made four months before, were fine dry Sugars, and, he is assured, in good condition when shipped. It appears that the gross weights then were nine hundred and thirty-three hundred weight; those by the accounts of sales only eight hundred and ten hundred weight, two quarters and one pound. Thus a loss of more than two hundred weight per hoghead, equal to very near ten hogheads, at the average net weight of the others, appears to have been sustained by the shipper, as well as of freight of one hundred twenty-three hundred weight to the ship-owners, on these goods, made so long before. It also appears that he is charged with Duties, on 13 cwt. 0 qrs. 6lb. of Sugar more than his sales allow him credit for; thus he sustains a total loss of the Duties, Freight, and Insurance, on that quantity. This loss, on a fair computation, may be considered, upon the whole, equal to the value of eleven hogheads, (which, at the average price the same number netted on the sales, is two hundred and fifty pounds) by reason of these Sugars being shipped in their raw state. Losses as well to the revenue, and to the nation, as to the individual; and numberless instances of as great, or greater losses, as well before as after the Customs have been paid, may be produced. I am well aware that it will be said, the waste is not all Sugar, that much of it is Melasses. I grant that some is, but I have made large allowances upon the waste that commonly happens; and I must make this observation, in answer to the objection, that was it taken from the Curing House, into the Boiling House, to be there melted; and the first runnings of Melasses from the refined goods, thrown into the pans with some fresh raw Sugars, as the Manufacturers in England, constantly practise, most of that which drains off, as Melasses, would thus be converted into Sugar. The bottoms of our Melasses Cisterns are often boiled for this purpose. The present waste therefore appears to be chiefly, that, of which the Refiners may avail themselves; and what is pilfered, or lost by errors in weighing

on Sugars shipped from Jamaica; of which,
by these means, Government will evidently be
the

weighing is all sugar. Every thirty-two hundred weight that will be saved may be supposed to give one hundred gallons of rum, besides what will be got from the sweets upon melting that quantity of raw sugars.

I flatter myself that no planter will think it time ill bestowed to consider the following extract of a letter which the Author has been favoured with, and which will need no comment of his, other than that the warmest thanks are due from the West-India Planters to so public spirited a writer; who has thus manifested his just sense of a variety of wrongs they suffer; and who has otherwise rendered them a most essential service, by an exertion worthy of every good citizen:

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in London, to his Friend in Jamaica.

"The villainous practices so long pursued, with impunity, at this port, is to be hoped, will, at last, be fully detected; although at present the proof of such practices is confined to those carried on by Buyers of Rum, through the most scandalous neglects. I can with truth advance, that in every other article of West-India produce, these kinds of frauds prevail, in the same, or in a much greater proportion. Indeed when you consider the very careless manner in which your Factors here do their out-door business, you will cease to wonder at the enormity of the evils—The usual practice of these Gentlemen is, when they receive a bill of lading of Sugar, or Rum, &c. (that you have consigned to them on your own account) to deliver it to the Broker, (if they have not previously mortgaged it) under the idea that it is his duty to represent them, see the goods landed in proper order, the Sugars weighed, and the Rums gauged. The Broker transfers it to the Cooper, the Cooper to his servant, and at last the whole is left to the purchaser, who would be an egregious fool if he did not take care of himself, neither your Factor, or his agent knowing

the gainer. So will the owners of Ships, employed in this trade, of so much freight, as is
now

any thing of what is done. But least from this representation you should imagine that neither the Merchant, nor Mr. Broker, or their underlings, do any thing for their commission, I must inform you,—that the Cooper draws samples,—the Broker shews them to purchasers (the Merchant, or Factor, seldom seeing any except Sugars) and informs his constituent what price the purchaser is willing to give, when the Merchant decides whether to take it, or not. After this the buyer sends a lighter to receive the Rum from the ship, and where it may remain until it is convenient for him to have it landed, very often a week, or ten days elapse, during which it is plundered *ad libitum*. The person employed by the Buyer to watch it—having only to *watch*—that *nobody sees him*—*plugging the casks*—The Rum is then landed—the Buyer sends for the three port gaugers, who gauges away in the ullage state they are in: (for allowances for want is always greatly more than in proportion—i. e. if a puncheon that would hold 100 gallons contains but 90, perhaps not above 12 per cent. may be allowed for this want; but if the puncheon wants 40 gallons, probably 50 will be allowed, besides the five per cent. established by custom, and a late decision of law) Instances of a similar nature offer themselves daily in Sugars, and every other article sent from the West-Indies to this port.—If the West-India society would enquire into these things the remedy would be easy; every man would move in his proper sphere. The Factor would be principal in the business, the Broker and every one under them would see the necessity of a faithful discharge of duty:—But, alas! when a private individual thus strikes out any thing new,—it is considered as the innovation of some busy and improper intermeddler, who knows nothing of the matter. Nevertheless such enquiries are necessary, and may produce such regulations as would prevent fraud.

The plan, as to rums imported, that I would propose should be adopted, is to land the rum immediately
from

now lost to them by the waste; and so will the trade and navigation of the Kingdom at large by all the increase of shipping that these savings will require to carry them to market. If *only* so much Sugar as has heretofore been made in this island shall be refined here, the quantity of Rum will be much increased, as there is about one ton * of an inferior Melasses, or Sweets, got on every five tons of raw Sugars refined; but as cultivation will from hence receive so great encouragement, and the Planter be so well enabled to manure and improve his lands, there can be no doubt that, in four or five years, the quantities of raw Sugars and Rums will be exceedingly augmented.

from the ships, to fill up the puncheons upon the wharf by starting them that are in the worst order, to fill the others: then let the gauge and proof be taken; and the imposts paid when the rum is delivered from the custom-house ware-houses. Thus the lighterage plunder would be prevented, the extra allowance on ullage would be saved, and the gaugers would have no temptation to —, for the buyer not being known, the business would be fairly done and bribery would be useless."

* A Writer in 1744 says, that five tons of Muscovado melted, will give two tons of Melasses. If so the Rum gained on all the Sugars, if melted in the Colonies, will be double what I have calculated it to be, and the quantity of Sugar so much less, the difference in these accounts may arise from considering the fine and coarse Sugars. I apprehend I have taken the medium between both; at all events if this account of such returns is right, the revenue will be greater from the Excise on the Rums that may be made from such

ed. It will be allowed, by those who are best informed, that there may be *more than, twice as much made from such improvements and the settling of the WASTE Lands*, than ever the island produced in any one year.

Thus trade and navigation will be further extended from such increase of Sugar and Rum, and from the bulk of refined Sugars which cannot be compressed into the same space as the Muscovado. The Guinea and Madeira trades also will be enlarged, in proportion to the additional number of settlements and of white inhabitants, to which every encouragement should be given by the legislature of this island, and by every individual belonging to it, for our internal security, which will raise our credit and the value of our properties,

Encouragement should also be given by Government to forward the settling of the uncultivated, and at present useless wood-lands and the establishing of manufacturers; as the Revenue, the Trade, the Navigation of Great Britain will receive such solid advantages, and as the planter, on whom the whole depends, will from thence sooner give returns from his industry. The consumer will with all other ranks of all people, receive his profits in the use of refined sugars and rums at less expence than ever, as from all the above savings, and

quantity, than from the Sugar and from what Melasses I have calculated.

other

other circumstances they may reasonably expect; even was the island never to make more sugars than it hitherto has done, they may enjoy such benefits. And even if we are refused our rights; if we are continued under the restriction of *not refining our sugars*, still the consumer may have those at the same cost as at present, for the refiners and grocers, under the pretext of *their* now paying the imposts, charge *more* than it will be necessary to raise, by way of excise, on the refined, as an *equivalent*; and the poorer people may enjoy the same right of using the raw sugars, free from duties, as they *now do to eat and consume* wheaten flour, barley, or potatoes, if unmanufactured. Immediately upon the conclusion of the war, it is possible, if not probable, that the planters may sustain a loss (by a sudden fall of the prices, whilst the insurance and freight are at the highest) on the sales of every hundred hogsheads of sugar and fifty puncheons of rum that may arrive at that critical time in England equal to three or four hundred pounds; whilst government shall from the fruits of their expences and labour receive a revenue of more than two thousand five hundred pounds sterling according to their weights and gauges. Is this consonant to reason or common justice?

Near nine-tenths of the raw sugars imported before the capture of Dominica, St. Vincents, Grenada, Tobago, St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat,

Montserrat, (a list most mortifying even in recital) were melted, which gave a return of about sixty-eight thousand tons of refined sugars, of all qualities, and about fourteen thousand tons of melasses. If the excise as proposed on the sugars is levied, government will gain near *one hundred and fifty thousand* pounds by this alteration of the imposts, and in the mode of collection.

If an equivalent only is necessary, here is room to moderate the excise, or for an allowance on this calculation of more than eight thousand tons, *if it be pretended that it is exaggerated*. But as it is proposed that the colonists should enjoy the liberty of manufacturing their goods, the revenue will be exceedingly enlarged, as nearly the whole of the Muscovado Sugars will be refined, which must be considerably more than what has been usually manufactured in Great Britain and Ireland; and which, in proportion, will increase the quantity of rum, as I have shewn that nearly ten thousand hogsheds from this island, (without saying any thing of the other colonies) never passes into the hands of the refiners there. From hence it appears that government cannot pay too close an attention to the proposition of restoring to us the rights we claim: The gains to the planter, to trade, to navigation, together with the very great addition apparently to be made to the revenue, by the mode of collection, and by the excise,

on Sugar only, are well worthy of consideration, even if there was not the further prospect on the above measure being pursued, of all these advantages being extended from the culture of that most valuable plant, (the Sugar Cane) which must greatly increase the produce as well of sugar as of rum. *

The commerce of the kingdom, one branch in particular, the coal trade, will, beyond all doubt, be exceedingly extended. As our wood-lands become cultivated, our present supply of fuel will be exhausted, our distilleries, boiling-houses, and refining business must then be wholly supplied with coals, the consumption of which, it may easily be conceived, will be so large that it will be necessary for more than half the ships outward bound to be loaded with them; or rather they will be one half of the loading of almost every ship.

The shipping employed to convey to Europe what is *now* grown in the colonies, will be considerably increased from the returns made on refining. The Muscovado produces about fourteen hundred weight of refined Sugars *of every quality*; and about four hundred weight of melasses, or sweets, for every ton

* The increase of revenue must, by the proposed excise on refined sugars, and on spirits, be to the amount of many hundred thousands of pounds *per annum*, within the course of a few years; whilst almost an immediate annual gain will accrue of more than 150,000l. sterling melted

melted.* The increase of freight on the spirits, which will be made from these sweets; to the amount of many thousands of puncheons, and of sugar and rum from the prevention of the present waste and pilfering, just mentioned, are essentially necessary to be borne in mind upon making a calculation: As to the increase that must be made to the trade and shipping of Great Britain, from the further and improved culture of the lands in Jamaica, let the reader form some judgment for himself from the representation that will be hereafter made of the present state of this island, and from the calculation offered to his consideration, in the note; which may, probably, be justified in due time by those who shall experience the effects of the measures proposed: || But whatever may be gained or
lost

* Vide note to page 103.

|| The produce of Sugar in Jamaica is about seventy thousand tons, made from about 730 Sugar Plantations; Seventy thousand tons is equal to eighty-four thousand eight hundred and forty-eight hogsheds, containing when shipped, sixteen hundred and a half of net Sugar, which will load about two hundred and eighty-three vessels carrying each three hundred hogsheds, and for which the shippers would pay for freight, at three shillings and sixpence per Cwt. in times of peace, about two hundred and seven thousand pounds; calculating the Sugars to weigh at the King's Beam fourteen hundred weight per hoghead. If this quantity of Sugar, instead of being shipped was manufactured in the Island, the whole of the waste, and what is usually pilfered being saved, it would give about thirty thousand tons of
the

lost to the revenue, to trade, or by the consumer, *the rights we claim are the same*; to restore

the Double-refined, if all that could be, was manufactured to that quality; this would require one hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three puncheons, containing four and a half hundred weight each, to ship it in, which would load about two hundred and ninety vessels, carrying four hundred and fifty of such casks of sugar, besides rum.

Thus it appears, that a greater number of shipping, of equal burden (for four hundred and fifty puncheons will take the space of three hundred hogheads) would be employed, without making any calculation of what number more it would take to carry the Sugars of inferior qualities, and the additional quantities of Rums that would be made from the savings, and from the Mellasses gained by the refining; which must be very considerable. If sixty vessels, for that purpose, be added to the number here calculated as necessary to convey to market thirty thousand tons of Refined Sugars, it will not be found, on a closer investigation, to be more than sufficient. The value of the freight, for the Sugar, exclusive of Rum, &c. &c. of three hundred and fifty vessels, at the rate calculated on two hundred and eighty-three supposed to be employed to carry seventy thousand tons of Raw Sugars, amounts to no more than two hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds; an increase of freight, to the encouragement of Navigation, equal to fifty-seven thousand pounds. Vide note to p. 92.

By the present lands in cultivation being improved, and by the wood-lands being cleared and turned to advantage, it may fairly be allowed that about one hundred and fifty thousand tons would be made: this quantity melted would give about one hundred and eight thousand seven hundred and fifty of refined Sugars; which with the Rums might load about seven hundred and sixty ships, according to the foregoing calculation. But from ten to twelve thousand tons of the raw Sugars must, however, be allowed for the consumption of the Island,

store these to us, to destroy the canker that
corrodes and leavens all the rest, this, and
this

Island, especially upon an increase of inhabitants: By manufacturing of our staple produce in the colonies, this island, may, sometime hence, from attention being paid to the Sugar Cane only, give employment, probably, to three or four times the number of shipping that the whole produce of every denomination appears to have done in the year 1778. The voyage will be made with more expedition, and with less danger, from the ships not being so much strained, as with their present heavy loadings, and the insurance, of course, will be lessened. What has been said respects only the lands now employed in raising the Sugar-Cane, and of the lands IN WOOD, WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN YET UNDER ANY CULTURE, and are generally allowed to be fit for that purpose; but if the level lands of the parishes of St. Thomas, St. David, St. Andrew, St. Catherine, St. Dorothy, Vere, St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, Hanover, and other parts are allotted for the production of Sugar, which may be done, and made exceedingly fruitful by the use of those waters which are now wholly lost, or nearly useless, by draining, by husbandry, and by manures, the reader will then extend the calculation to what these lands (which consist of many thousands of Acres that can no otherwise ever be, and more than are now cultivated for Sugar) may give, and the prospect of the increase of the shipping will appear astonishingly extensive, as a greater return of Sugar and Rum may, reasonably, be expected from these alone, than the whole Island now makes. The lands are, for the most part, naturally of the best quality; but in their present state are of little or no use, entirely owing to the inability of their Proprietors to go to the expence of giving them such advantages as they cannot have without expence and labour. The profits on the returns, under the present heavy load of charges on Sugar estates, makes it unadvisable for any man to attempt

this only is the cure ; all other remedies can be but palliatives to the lingering, but certain destruction of the colonists ; the colonies, the trade, manufactures, navigation, and revenue of Great Britain, which, may GOD of his infinite mercy grant wisdom to the councils of that great nation to avert !

The island of Jamaica may boast of natural advantages, but they have hitherto been much unemployed, unimproved ; it has fine harbours with little commerce ; a grateful soil, without cultivation ; fine rivers suffered to run to the destruction of the richest lands, while few others receive any benefit from their fruitful waters ; and are of no use to what industry, power, and skill, unitedly, might render

tempt such undertakings : They must remain as they are to Eternity, if such encouragement is not given that the Proprietors may reap suitable Advantages. If this, in time is wisely done, it may then become an insular concern to be regulated and supported by the legislature ; as it is well known the conducting of, and the various profitable uses to which waters may be employed, are the peculiar care of the government of the Island of Hispaniola, and also of America, Holland, and Great Britain : These plains may thus become equal in fertility to those watered by the fruitful Nile, or to any that have, by the most industrious people, been reclaimed in other parts of the world. Let every member of government, every member of this Community, view, as from an eminence, the fair unbounded prospect that is thus opened unto them ; and it will appear almost too extensive to be taken, even, in the mind's eye.

them,

them, to the singular emolument of the proprietors, and welfare of the commonwealth.*

This

* *Letters from an American Farmer.*

“ Pray, Mr. Bertram, what banks are those you are
 “ making? to what purpose is so much expence and so
 “ much labour bestowed? “ Friend Iwan, no branch
 “ of industry was ever more profitable to any country,
 “ as well as to the proprietors: The Schuylkill in its
 “ many windings once covered a great extent of ground.
 “ The proprietors of these grounds are now incorpora-
 “ ted; and it is owing to this happy event that so
 “ many thousand acres have been rescued from the
 “ Schuylkill, which now both enricheth and embellish-
 “ eth so much of the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.
 “ Our brethren of Salem in New Jersey have carried
 “ the art of embanking to a still higher degree of perfec-
 “ tion. This is a spirit of discernment and persever-
 “ ance which is highly praise-worthy. If the Virgini-
 “ ans would imitate your example, the state of their
 “ husbandry would greatly improve. I have not heard
 “ of any such associations in any other parts of the
 “ Continent; pray, Sir, what expences are you at be-
 “ fore these grounds are fit for the plough or the scythe?
 “ The expence is very considerable, particularly when
 “ we have land, brooks, trees, and brush to clear away.
 “ But such is the excellence of these bottoms, and [the
 “ goodness of grass for fattening of cattle, that the
 “ produce of three years pays all advances.” Happy
 country, where nature has bestowed such treasures, su-
 perior to mines, and whose industrious inhabitants are
 perfectly acquainted with the methods of turning them
 to their own emolument.

My readers of the Island of Jamaica, whom this may
 much concern, nor the public, when they are inform-
 ed that there is no work of this sort done in the island,
 whilst there are many similar rivers to the Schuylkill,
 and

This island contains more than three millions of acres, horizontal measure; and, from the best accounts that can be collected, about 270,000 or 280,000 are in canes, 730,000 in coffee, cotton, tobacco, ginger, piemento, plantain walks, corn, pasture, &c. &c. but principally pasture; and from two millions two hundred thousand, to two millions two hundred and seventy thousand of uncultivated land.* Of the canes there are cut from two hundred thousand, to two hundred and ten thousand acres annually, which only give on an average something more than six and a half hundred weight of Sugar and something more than twenty gallons of rum; sufficient evidences not only of the bad condition of the soil, but of the poverty of the planters; who have it not in their power to support the expence of giving their lands that culture and manure which more wealthy husbandmen bestow. It is not sufficient that land should be merely cultivated, it is necessary that it should be well, properly, and vigorously cultivated. There are,

and thousands of acres in the same predicament as those in Pensylvania and New-Jersey formerly were, will not think, it is hoped, this quotation obtruded upon them. The author, on the contrary, flatters himself with the pleasing idea, that it may, at some future time, be thought a useful hint, as well by the proprietors of such lands within this island, as by the legislature.

* The History of Jamaica says it contains a greater number of acres, but this is the account of some eminent surveyors.

at least, one hundred and fifty thousand acres of good cane land now *in woods*, which, if cleared and properly improved, might on a moderate estimate, be allowed to make for many years, at little expence of manure, a return of half a ton of sugar and thirty gallons of rum per acre. Thus these four hundred and twenty or four hundred and thirty, perhaps five hundred thousand acres (as it is conjectured there may be more good land lying waste, or in standing woods, than can at present be ascertained) must *with such other lands as may with art and industry be brought into the culture of Sugar and Rum*, (taken notice of in a preceding note) be the great support of the trade of this island, and therefore justly merit every attention. Not one third of the whole is now under any culture, altogether owing to the impolitic restrictions and duties which have prevented the increase of settlers, and the great improvements they and its present industrious inhabitants, probably, would have long since made, had they not thus sustained most heavy losses; and had not immense sums, *the profits of their labours, been unjustly taken from them*: When the people are thus deprived of these; the most fertile parts of the earth will become deserts,* Give encouragement, confer benefits,

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* From this cause it is, that the most fruitful parts of this island, are little better than deserts. Lord Kaim's has recorded a woefully instructive lesson of the bad tendency

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it will be *good policy*, it will be *national wisdom*. The acquisition of trade which the encreased culture of Jamaica must give, and of course power, will insure wealth, from whence revenues arise; whilst restrictions and duties undermine both: Encourage, and let trade be *as free as air*. Resources will not then be wanting.

Things being once in this prosperous situation, the Planters would, by their industry, soon restore the lands which have long been and are now rapidly declining to their former fertility. Artificial manures, lime, and various composts; with such as are only to be obtained through great expence and labour, as sea-side sands, kelp, and other sea-weeds, marles, &c. &c. and which are to be made, or carried from one place to another, are attend-

cy of such pernicious policy, in the following extract from his Sketches. "From the sea port of Mergui, to the capital of the kingdom of Siam, one travels ten or twelve days through immense plains of a rich soil, finely watered. That country appears to have been formerly cultivated, but is now quite depopulated and left to tigers and elephants. Formerly an immense commerce was carried on in that fertile country. Historians attest that in the middle of the sixteenth century above a thousand foreign ships, frequented its ports annually. But the King tempted with so much riches, endeavoured to engross all the commerce of his country; by which means he annihilated successively mines, manufactures and even agriculture. The country is depopulated; and few remains there but beggars. A despotic government stifles, in the birth, all the bounties of nature."

ed with too much cost when the planter has already little or nothing left, after payment of duties, internal taxes, and other charges on the produce of his lands : He cannot avail himself of those various parts of husbandry, which he might be able to practice, had he the amount of those imposts which are, partially, and unconstitutionally taken from him. Could duties on the produce of lands in the West Indies operate as advancing the rents in England has sometimes done, inspire the farmer with more industry, and make him acquire more skill ; could they make them more wealthy or better husbandmen, to draw greater returns from their lands ; the inhabitants of these now devoted islands, might in a few years have just cause to think that the late additional levies are blessings ! But alas ! they will fatally prove the most severe of curses : For they deprive the greater number of small sugar estates of receiving those benefits from an acquired knowledge in the wide field of agriculture, that necessity, the mother of invention might animate their unfortunate proprietors to attain : The few that may have opportunities to exercise their skill and industry to advantage, cannot counterbalance the loss which the community, and of course, government must have in the destruction of, by far the greater part of our properties. Agriculture is the noblest and most necessary object of human attention therefore should ever
be

be maintained in full vigour and prosperity, it is the true foundation of wealth and power,* and whoever gives encouragement to it may be looked upon as the patron and promoter of all other sciences. However agriculture and trade ought both to be cherished: They have *humanized Man*: They are the *Heart and Eyes* of the EMPIRE: They are the *Parent and Offspring* under whose benign influence *civil Society is*, and *Nations to Nations are cemented*.†
The

* “ C’est l’agriculture qui a conduit les hommes par la
“ main, de degrés en degrés, de la constitution agreste à la
“ constitution politique : plus un terrain est-il propre à
“ être ensemencé, plus les graines comestibles y abon-
“ dentelles, and plus les possesseurs de ces champs fer-
“ tiles & de ces semences précieuses s’humaniseront-ils,
“ s’ils s’adonnent à la culture, qui commencera par les
“ rendre sédentaires, & dès-lors ils sont à demi policés.

“ La propriété & tous les arts sont donc nés du sein
“ de l’agriculture. De là on peut déterminer les rangs
“ où les différentes espèces Sauvages doivent être placées,
“ suivant leur éloignement plus ou moins grand de la
“ perfection morale.”

† “ Les cultivateurs sont les premiers dans l’ordre,
“ parce que leur subsistance est la moins précaire, & leur
“ genre de vie le moins turbulent & le moins inquiet : ils
“ ont les temps d’inventer & de perfectionner leurs instru-
“ ments ; ils ont du loisir pour penser & réfléchir.

“ Les Nomades suivent immédiatement, mais différent
“ des premiers, en ce qu’obligés d’aller à la recherche des
“ pâturages, & d’accompagner leurs troupeaux, ils ne
“ sont jamais établis : on ne reconte pas, pendant l’hy-
“ ver, leurs tentes & leurs maisons ambulantes dans les
“ mêmes lieux où l’on les a vues pendant l’été : ils chan-
“ gent de patrie d’une année à l’autre, d’un mois à l’autre.
“ Les Tartares, les Trabes, les Maures, les Lappons

The Ministers who have imposed these heavy taxes from time to time, and, in particular, these

“ sont ceux d'entré les Nomades que nous connoissons
“ le mieux.

“ Il y a des nations que nous avons nommé Rhizophages : nous entendons par là celles qui vivent dans les
“ forêts, de racines & de fruits provenus sans cultures,
“ Leurs mœurs dépendent beaucoup des productions &
“ de la qualité du pays : ceux qui ont des cocotiers & des
“ palmistes, sont plus à leur aise & moins sauvages que
“ ceux qui ne voient s'élever au-dessus de leurs can-
“ banes, que les rameaux dès hêtres & la cime des
“ chênes.

“ Les peuples pêcheurs forment la quatrième classe ;
“ leur façon d'exister ne diffère pas sensiblement de celle
“ des pasteurs ou des Nomades, sinon que ceux-ci ont
“ dans leurs troupeaux apprivoisés une ressource assurée
“ & que les pêcheurs doivent attendre, autant du
“ hazard que de leur adresse, le nécessaire physique.

“ Les Chasseurs constituent le dernier ordre, & sont
“ les plus sauvages de tous : errants & incertains de leur
“ sort d'un jour à l'autre, ils doivent craindre la réunion
“ & la multiplication de leurs semblables, comme le plus
“ grand des malheurs ; parce que le gibier, bien moins
“ fécond que le poisson, se dépeuple dans tous les pays
“ du monde, à proportion que le nombre d'hommes
“ croît. Un sauvage chasseur cherche les solitudes,
“ s'écarte autant qu'il peut de toute habitation humaine,
“ & s'éloigne à chaque pas de la vie sociale : s'il construit
“ une hutte, c'est plutôt pour s'y retirer que pour y être
“ logé. Jamais en paix avec les hommes ou avec les
“ animaux, son instinct est féroce & ses mœurs barbares,
“ plus son génie s'occupe-t-il des moyens de subsister,
“ moins réfléchit-il sur la possibilité de se policer. Il
“ est dans le genre humain ce que sont les bêtes carnaf-
“ sières entre les quadrupèdes, insociable.” *Recherches*
“ *Philosophiques sur les Américains, à Londres, 1771, p. 83.*

Such is the life of Hunters, from which our Negroes
are brought from Africa, to the peaceful, happy, condi-
tion

these last insupportable ones, on the planters, could never have foreseen the consequences; nor could our forefathers who acquiesced in the first duties: In not opposing them they certainly neglected to do themselves justice, and entailed those mischiefs on their descendants, under which they grown at this period.

The wise Hampden (whose virtues will be revered as long as Englishmen shall retain a due sense of the value of liberty) refused the payment of a very trifling sum *because it was unconstitutional*. The demand it is true was not sanctified by a law, *yet the people in general submitted to the impost*. Laws themselves may be unjust, impolitic, unconstitutional, but whatever is unjust, impolitic, unconstitutional, it is the natural right of man to oppose.

tion of industrious civilized cultivators of lands in the West Indies: Is it not from the state of the most miserable slavery, to a kind of freedom, if I may be allowed the expression, under the controul of their masters? (I cannot term it from one slavery to another, it cannot be taken in such a comparative view, the different situations are too wide asunder; in the first, they are slaves to want, misery, and brutal lust; in their civilized state, they are free from wants, know none of their former misery, and learn to govern their passions) but from which they would soon fall off from their original state of hunters, "enemies to men and animals," were they left to themselves, if we may form a judgment from what has invariably been the life of those free negroes in Jamaica called Maroons, who almost wholly subsist by hunting and shooting; whilst the lands appropriated, by the legislature, to them have ever been uncultivated; and must ever remain a national loss, unless some better policy, in regard to these people, is adopted.

Vide what is said to Negroes in Note to p. 72

It is a justice we of this age owe to ourselves and our posterity, to object to the unjust burdens under which we labour, *now we feel* how unremittingly ministers have loaded us. They began by a very small sum; but have gone on, from time to time, adding small sums, till, at length, under an accelerated progress, Muscovado Sugars are, at one single stroke, subjected to the additional duty of four shillings and eight-pence, on every hundred weight, and both that and Rum to an impost of five per cent. on the customs, and shortly may, nay will be increased to twenty shillings, and five times five per cent. more, *if we continue to submit such oppressions without ever making known our grievances.*

The laws that have imposed duties on the produce of the colonies, on importation into Great Britain, have ever been UNJUST, because they have been *unequal and partial*; IMPOLITIC, because they have *discouraged agriculture, and prevented the extension of our trade, our manufactures, and our navigation*; UNCONSTITUTIONAL, because *taxes have been levied on the people by those who are not their representatives; and because those who have laid the imposts pay no part of them.*

Had the Parliaments levied an excise on the refiners, or rather on the retailers, or consumers of refined sugars and rums within the kingdom, and left the planters at liberty to send them to market as they thought proper, the members *and their constituents*, as consumers

mers, would have been taxed ; *this would have been equal, constitutional and politic.* It would have given encouragement to the culture of the lands in the colonies, which of course must have extended the trade of manufactures, and power of Great-Britain.

Ireland and England have, my brother planters, for us, just terminated a most instructive contention. *Whether the sugar refinery shall be monopolized by the latter, or enjoyed to the common benefit of those kingdoms.* Ireland considers that, towards *her only*, the conduct of England “ *was ungenerous and unequal, founded on principles the most narrow, selfish, and illiberal, through the interested, insidious opposition of Sugar Bakers, or West India Merchants, That to deprive them of their own market for raw sugars, was disingenuous, deceitful, and utterly inconsistent with candour.*”*

With

* I R E L A N D.

R O Y A L E X C H A N G E.

Dublin, Aug. 11, 1780.

At a general Meeting of the Merchants and Traders of this City convened this day by a public notice from the Committee of Merchants.

Mr. TRAVERS HARTLEY in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to,

R E S O L V E D, That it is our sincere desire, our ardent wish to preserve that cordiality of affection between this Country and Great-Britain so essentially necessary to the prosperity of both kingdoms, and which can only have a firm foundation in mutual interest, and reciprocal liberality of sentiment.

R E S O L V E D

With how much greater propriety, my brother planters, *may we make these applications to both*

RESOLVED, That the alterations which the bill lately passed in the Honourable House of Commons, in Ireland, has, as we are credibly informed, suffered in Great-Britain, by a reduction of the additional duty of twelve shillings per hundred weight, thereby laid on refined Sugars, to nine shillings and two pence per hundred weight, does therefore affect us with sensible concern, as manifestly proceeding from the most narrow, selfish, and illiberal principles.

RESOLVED, That those applications which have effected this alteration in Great-Britain, have not, in our apprehension, had merely a view to the supplying the consumption of this kingdom with Sugar of the manufacture of Great-Britain, but to prevent the extension of every other manufacture of this country, which might have been expected in consequence of a free export to the British settlements and colonies in Africa, the West-Indies, and America, and with the hopes of which we were led to amuse ourselves.

RESOLVED, That the first mentioned view of supplying the consumption of this country with refined Sugar, of British manufacture, is ungenerous and unequal, as the importation of refined Sugar into Great-Britain, from Ireland, in common with all other countries, is effectually guarded against by a prohibitory duty of four pounds two shillings and six-pence per hundred weight.

RESOLVED, That the latter more latent, but we are confident, principal view of frustrating the advantages so pompously held out to us in a free trade to the British colonies, by depriving us even of our own market for raw Sugar, the capital article of return for our exports thither, is most disingenuous and deceitful; utterly inconsistent with that candour, by which we know many of our British fellow-subjects are, and wish them all to be honorably distinguished.

RESOLVED, That we still remain of opinion, that an additional duty of sixteen shillings and seven pence per hundred weight on Sugar in loaves, being three times the

both kingdoms, who have paid no regard to *our rights*? who uncandidly exercise a joint sovereignty over their brethren, because they do not reside in their islands; men who with indefatigable industry, at the hazard of their lives, have sought a subsistence in other cli-

the proposed addition on the raw materials, it is necessary to preserve our Sugar refinery on the same footing it has hitherto stood, not indeed a very firm one, as experience evinces the injurious competition it has frequently suffered from imported refined Sugar.

RESOLVED, That we consider it derogatory to the dignity of the Representatives in Parliament, of the people of Ireland, to admit a supposition of their determination being shaken by the interested, insidious opposition of Sugar Bakers, or West India Merchants in Great-Britain; a determination, in which we are persuaded a delicacy of sentiment, under the impression of proposed benefits, studiously avoiding the least appearance of ingratitude, had an abundant share.

RESOLVED, That in our opinion, it would be more for the interest of this kingdom, to relinquish the direct importation of raw Sugars from the West-Indies, and to import them as usual through Great-Britain, at the present duty, than to admit refined Sugars with a less additional duty than twelve shillings per hundred weight.

RESOLVED, That, in our opinion, this kingdom reaped more advantage in a short time, by confining itself to the use of its own manufactures, than it will for the course of years, from a nominal trade on terms so fallacious.

RESOLVED, unanimously, That if it should be again made necessary, we will have recourse to a NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENT. as being pregnant with greater benefits to this country, than a partial and an imperfect grant of a NOMINAL FREE TRADE; and we trust, that we shall ever find a counterpoise in the spirit and patriotism of the people of Ireland, against the disadvantages to which they may be subjected by the jealousy and envy of their fellow-subjects of England.

mates,

mates, and suffered uncommon fatigues and oppressions for the aggrandizement of the Mother Country. No regard, no attention, has been paid *by them*, to the heavy additional levies on the raw sugars, and on rums. No, no, that does not affect *them*. Let them enjoy *their refinery*, it is all *they modestly ask*. But, whilst they are contending for what is ours inherently, is ours by natural right, *are we passively to submit to our being excluded from those advantages they think are so well worth contending for?* And by such exclusion from many others that Great Britain and Ireland can know nothing of? Have either of them any natural pretensions *to appropriate* the sugar refinery? If any exclusion is admitted, it ought to be in favour of those countries where sugar is produced, and in opposition to those kingdoms which have various other manufactures to support them, and to which the Sugar Colonies give most ample encouragement.

The Plantations may justly claim a right of enjoying the liberty of refining for exportation. The appropriation of refining of sugars in England and Ireland, must, in the end, be injurious to their interest in the extremest degree, if continued: The advantages arising from this becoming a free trade, *which is now an odious monopoly*, is sufficiently evident; and which the empire must reap the benefit of when the wisdom of the councils of England shall no longer withhold from the Sugar Colonies *their just rights of manufacturing their produce, and of exporting it, in that state to the Sister Kingdoms;*

Kingdoms; as when that desirable circumstance takes place, an opportunity will be given to the planters to increase the consumption of the English, Irish, and Scotch manufactures, and also enable them to freight in the course of four or five years, nearly three times the number of ships Great Britain ever possessed in the trade of the continent of North America: *

Some

* Total amount of British ships and seamen employed in the American trade, previous to our unfortunate dispute with that country, but which it is hoped will speedily be restored to Great Britain.

Colonies.	Ships	Seamen.	Exports from G. Britain	Imports from Colonies
Hudson's Bay	4	130	£. 16,000	£. 29,340
Labrador, American vessels—120	380	20,540	273,600	345,000
Newfoundland—2000 boats				
Canada	34	408	105,000	105,500
Nova Scotia	6	72	26,500	38,000
New England	46	552	395,000	370,000
Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire	3	38	12,000	114,000
New York	30	330	531,000	526,000
Pennsylvania	35	390	611,000	705,000
Virginia & Maryland	330	3900	865,000	1,040,000
North Carolina	34	408	18,000	68,150
South Carolina	140	1680	365,000	395,666
Georgia	24	240	49,000	74,200
St. Augustine	2	24	7,900	
Pensacola	10	120	97,000	63,000
	1078	28,910	3,370,900	3,874,536

Trade

Some compensation it is presumed will
this be for the loss of that. Jamaica alone
may,

State of the Trade of Great Britain and Ireland, to the
Islands in the West Indies, and to the Coast of the
Gulph of Mexico, in the year 1778, before the com-
mencement of the war with France; calculated with
exactness from authentic accounts.

Trade to Jamaica.

From	ships	tonnage
London	161	42600
Bristol	53	12820
Liverpool	51	10525
Hull	2	290
Lancaster	17	2420
Whitehaven	4	740
Leith	3	380
Greenock	2	2020
Dublin	5	140
Corke	26	4560
	324	77195

Trade to Antigua

From	ships	tonnage
London	44	9330
Liverpool	5	770
Bristol	7	1120
Lancaster	3	265
Portsmouth	1	70
Greenock	2	170
Dublin	1	110
Corke	22	2745
Belfast	10	1310
	95	15890

Trade to Nevis.

London	9	1940
Bristol	2	320
Corke	1	75
	12	2335

Trade to Barbadoes

London	26	5655
Liverpool	11	1700
Leith	1	180
Greenock	1	170
Bristol	6	1220
Lancaster	5	500
Whitehaven	2	250
Cowes	2	650
Dublin	1	130
Corke	8	920
Belfast	3	290
Waterford	1	120
	67	11785

Trade to St. Christopher's
or St. Kitt's.

London	45	9625
Liverpool	1	90
Bristol	7	1195
Lancaster	6	800
Greenock	2	380
Corke	8	1030
	69	13120

Trade

Trade to Montserrat.

From	shps	tonage
London	10	1953
Liverpool	1	190
Corke	1	130
	<u>12</u>	<u>2273</u>

Trade to St. Vincent.

From	shps	tonage
London	11	2380
Liverpool	5	900
Bristol	5	1090
Lancaster	1	140
Corke	6	700
	<u>28</u>	<u>5210</u>

Trade to Grenada and the Grenadines.

London	59	12555
Liverpool	7	1080
Bristol	4	790
Lancaster	5	740
Portsmouth	1	200
Leith	5	180
Greenock	2	360
Corke	12	1480
Belfast	2	230
	<u>97</u>	<u>17615</u>

Trade to Tortola.

London	7	1300
Liverpool	14	1770
Bristol	5	530
Corke	2	210
	<u>28</u>	<u>3810</u>

Trade to St. Eustatius, St. Croix, and St. Thomas.

London	1	145
Bristol	1	40
Portsmouth	1	200
Cowes	1	250
Dartmouth	1	180
Corke	2	170
Belfast	1	80
Leith	1	170
	<u>9</u>	<u>1235</u>

Trade to Tobago.

London	14	2880
Liverpool	1	200
Bristol	5	910
Leith	1	180
Greenock	1	350
Corke	2	390
	<u>24</u>	<u>4910</u>

Trade to Providence.

London	1	250
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Trade to the West-Indies
(Islands not being ascertained).

London	3	670
Bristol	2	330
Dublin	14	1610
Corke	28	3900
Yarmouth	1	250
Whitehaven	3	500
Cowes	2	430
Belfast	5	530
Waterford	5	540
	<u>63</u>	<u>8760</u>

Trade to Dominica.

London	14	2940
Liverpool	7	940
Bristol	9	1660
Lancaster	2	240
Whitehaven	1	200
Corke	13	1390
Belfast	2	150
Waterford	1	70
	<u>49</u>	<u>7590</u>

Trade

may, through encouragement given to the cultivation of the lands and Sugar Cane, afford employment to many more vessels and seamen.

Ireland has set us an example, shall we not have a *non-importation* agreement, if no other redress is to be obtained? Let us firmly, yet with all respect due to authority, lay our complaints before the Minister; let us urge the modes of redress which are necessary, and with a truly patriotic spirit, shew our disposition to lend government every equitable and constitutional support that the exigencies of the times require, and that our powers will admit of.* In this disposition let us also make

Trade to the Bay of Honduras, and to the Musquito Shore.			Trade to Pensacola.		
From	ships	tonage	From	ships	tonage
London	8	1440	London	17	4080
Bristol	8	1480	Corke	2	280
Dublin	1	200		—	—
	—	—		19	4360
	17	3120	Trade to the Riv. Mississippi, and Coast of W. Florida		
			London	11	1310
TOTAL				ships	tonage
Of which from London				925	180768
				441	101053
From other Ports				484	79715

* If from sixty to sixty-five per cent of the profits of our labour, of our industry (all taxes upon the produce of land in its raw state, and in the hands of the cultivators,

make the proper application, by Petition, to the Parliament of Great Britain, with as much speed

tors, or of those to whom it may, in that state, be assigned, are taxes on the labour and industry of the people) and on our capital employed in the culture of our lands, be necessary for the support of government, as this is now raised on our produce, the same ought to be raised from the labour, and capital of every farmer in Great Britain and Ireland; and rather than Government should need any necessary support, the Planters, as soon as any body of people on earth, would, without complaining, submit to such, "an equal taxation" however heavy, whilst the necessity should continue, as this would "be for the good of the whole, if equally protected." Or if Government is at a loss for supplies, let it be permitted me to propose that, there shall be raised by an excise, one guinea (or any sum that may be thought proper) for every yard of broad cloth made in Great Britain, and as much for every yard of Irish Hollands and Scotch Cambricks. This will be "in proportion to the whole and to the abilities of the consumers," and in the option of every man to contribute in proportion to his consumption. Many similar taxes may be imposed that will only affect the wealthy consumer, and from which large revenues may arise, if properly and impartially imposed: But the people must not expect this, without a reform most devoutly to be wished, and long meditated by some truly patriotic men. We have known that whilst an excise was imposed on wrought plate, made use of in families, all were exempt from paying more than a certain limited number of ounces, under the pretext of not giving a check to trade and the manufacture, whilst many members of both houses were possessed of 5, 6, nay 8 and 10 times the quantity, who with all other ranks of men, gave in upon honour, ——— what they thought proper: here was good care taken of themselves, and of the trade, with a sufficient latitude given to destroy every possibility of a

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revenue

speed as the urgency of the business requires. Remember there is no time to be lost ; ruin will inevitably overtake us, if we do not obtain redress. Should we prove unsuccessful on our first application, still we must not be discouraged, we must persist, nor be silent with respect to those grievances, which, unredressed, will plunge not only the colonies, but Great Britain herself, into an abyss whence neither will ever emerge ! *

I most

revenue arising from it. The virtue of the times has since cured the evil—by repealing the act.

In taxing the colonists no regard has been paid either to their *rights* as men, or *interests* as Traders :—They were not in Parliament, they were out of hearing, their complaints were unnoticed, whilst care was taken to make them pay to the last farthing of the impost ! How opposite is this partial conduct to common justice and the *rights* of the people, who claim an “ an equality of “ taxation in proportion to the consumption.”

Many of my Readers, perhaps, may not know, that a tax on post horses was levied a short time since, which was obliged to be taken off in the last Sessions of Parliament, the people declaring they would no longer submit to it, THEREFORE, in its stead, five per cent. on the customs were imposed ; which must be borne by those hackneyed jades, that are for ever rode—the miserable planters.

* The expences of the Navy, Army, and Ordnance for the last six years, to April 1782, have been 103,000,000 l. sterl. of which the Army has cost 47,000,000 l. and the Ordnance 7,000,000 l. whilst the amount of the Supplies, ordinary and extraordinary, for the present year, will equal, or nearly equal, the rent-roll of ALL Great-Britain, which is 24,000,000 l. If the trade of the Colonies was lost, where would adequate

I most earnestly conjure you to attend to what is recommended to your serious consideration. The only methodical and constitutional applications are those adopted, and if supported with firmness, they must gain you redress. The Ministry did not foresee the evil tendency of the excise on cyder at the mill: They wanted a revenue; and they took that mode of raising it: When they were sensible of its ill effects and a more eligible way of producing a revenue was proposed, they readily adopted it. Let us, trust, that by the proper representations we shall make, the same will happen in respect to the burdens with which we are at present loaded: They are much more intolerable than those the cyder makers experienced, and infinitely greater in national importance. Be not misled by the neglects of some; or by designing men to delay, much less renounce your present intentions. Such whose fortunes may enable them to support a loss for the present, may expect a gain from your ruin, which must, as I have said, soon happen if you have not immediate relief. They may be now consoling themselves in that prospect. Such men, who know they can stand the *shock*, may with greedy eyes be contemplating

quate resources be found. It is most evident, that, without that assistance, such out-goings must bankrupt the kingdom in one year.

your properties, as their future prey, when you will be under the dire necessity of selling that for five thousand pounds, perhaps, which has cost you and your forefathers twenty-five, or thirty thousand, I mean the few that can meet with purchasers: *they will then exert themselves* to obtain the repeal of these imposts which will have occasioned your ruin; that ruin which *they will then* urge as a plea for *their application*, and *they will* THEN *infallibly succeed*; as from the decrease of the customs, which by that time Government will have experienced, the loss of trade, which the nation in general will have severely felt, and the heavy advance of the price of Sugars, which the consumer must pay, will unite all ranks of people *to give the redress*, that those Planters, only, who *shall have stood the shock* will receive any benefit from. These are melancholy reflections! may there never be found a man whose designs may justify my having made them: *But beware of false brethren: the man that is not with you, is against you: Such a one as you ought to account an enemy to yourselves, YOUR POSTERITY, YOUR COUNTRY.* However, doubt not, your laudable examples will be warmly seconded *by most* of our fellow-subjects, either Planters, or others, as well in the Colonies, as by those resident in England. It is the cause of every one who owns an acre of land, or even a cottage. The inherent rights of man "*to the fruits of his labour*" is
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the great cause of every individual in the empire; therefore, in its interests, we ought, unquestionably, to be united. There is no Planter who is possessed of only a small estate, there is no Planter, who, unfortunately, may be indebted to the amount of one third, or, perhaps, only to the amount of one fourth of what his property has cost him and his predecessors, or of what it has been estimated at, but must be ruined, unless a reformation takes place. Let the few great Planters of Jamaica, who may imagine they can support themselves under these exorbitant taxations, and may hope to derive an advantage from the ruin of their less affluent neighbours, beware of the terrible, though certain, consequences *of adopting this selfish, this odious, this illiberal, this wicked idea.* The few opulent inhabitants that *may then* remain, will find themselves deserted by those whose numbers now form their chief security against internal enemies; who will prove less savage *than men who shall have suffered themselves to be influenced by such an inhuman policy.*

The spirited memorial for redress of grievances, with the petition to Parliament, already signed by upwards of two hundred and seventy truly patriotic Sugar Planters, is an earnest that you cannot submit to oppression

without seeking for justice. * You will, with the freedom of Englishmen, strenuously resent such injuries by every legal and constitutional means which your inherent rights justify; IT IS IN YOUR POWER TO BE FREE. Let me not be misconstrued, I excite you to legal and constitutional resistance, which duty to *his* King and Country demand of every Englishman when his rights are violated by "errors of Ministers, or of Parliament;" not to that which is rebellious.

We are all, I trust, too loyal, and know too well our weakness to have even a thought of seditious resistance; but yet my friends, our weakness shall be our strength, our constitutional and natural rights shall give us powers to obtain redress. We have a constitutional, natural right, to say, you shall no longer receive the revenue of more than a million *levied on the produce of our labour*, by the unequal imposts you have made on thirty thousand punchons *of our spirits*. We will no longer toil for you. We will, with united hearts, declare it infamous for a man to ship a gallon of rum to any of your ports until the excise

* "The Cortes of Spain had once as extensive powers as ever were enjoyed by an English Parliament; but at the time of their union, their power being sunk to a shadow, the King and his Ministers governed without much controul. From the History of every modern European nation, an instructive lesson may be gathered, That our Parliament is the only proper check, against the ignorance and rapacity of Ministers."

LORD KAIMS.

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on *British spirits* “ shall be equally borne by all.” I repeat we have a constitutional power, not to suffer an export from our country of *that which will be only to the advantage of those who oppress us*—* Let us with one accord make this declaration, but do not stop there; let us solemnly direct our Representatives to *obey our orders*. Let us assemble round the Tree of Liberty, and issue to them *the decree of the People*, THAT THEY SHALL SUPPORT THE MOST VIGOROUS, THE MOST STRENUOUS MEASURES TO OBTAIN REDRESS, that they shall enact a law, or otherwise concur with the People, to inflict severe penalties on every man, or that they will hold him infamous, and treat him as an enemy to his country, who shall be concerned in either shipping, or receiving on board a ship any Rum, that can be supposed to be more than necessary for the voyage; or who shall be concerned in either landing, receiving, or making use of, when landed, any TEAS, or of any *malt liquor, cyder, perry, or mum*, or of any *spirits made there, or that have been shipped from any port in Great Britain, or Ireland*, as from these government draws large revenues; and as you will from

* S'il s'élève des despotes qui écrasent tout sous leurs mains sanglantes, sur leurs aveugles volontés, il faut accuser la lâcheté de ceux qui ne s'opposent pas au despotisme, ou qui l'endurent; La liberté a moins à se plaindre de ceux qui l'envahissent, que de ceux qui ne la défendent pas.

RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES.

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this restriction save some small part of the losses you may sustain *by that righteous self-denial of not sending your commodities to those who would reap eight or nine times the advantages that you yourselves can make of them*: Nay, on a peace, government would make from thirty-six pounds five shillings, to thirty-nine pounds per puncheon, (according to the gauge) when that same cask of rum *may bring you five pounds in debt*, to your indulgent factor. You will, if it should *even make you five pounds*, individually sacrifice two hundred and fifty pounds only, on every five thousand gallons, whilst the loss to government will be more than six, probably seven times *what the whole people of this island can sustain*. The distillers and retailers in England will lose the gains they have usually made on your rums, equal to, *at least twice your profits*. Thus you will form a confederacy of ministers, distillers, and retailers to support your just pretensions, and to these you may add the consumers who will by no means relish the loss of so delicious a spirit. Will not this soon obtain you redress? Be determined, persevere, and your task-masters, will shortly relent; *if not, you must yet do more* TO WIN THEIR HEARTS, YOU WILL HAVE IT IN YOUR POWER; other measures will necessarily follow; or if they persist, the evil must cure itself, it will soon *relieve* you from the burden of the duties.

I have heard of some selfish beings, who, without regarding the natural inherent rights
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of their posterity, and those of their countrymen, *comfort themselves*, upon the casual rise of the price of sugar and rum, that they *now make enough from their estates to be contented with*; that if the present prices shall continue for seven years, they care not what becomes of the freehold, (or of posterity) shewing as great a want of philanthropy as a Hottentot, and an equal insensibility to their having as just, and as natural a right, to eight pounds, eleven shillings and ten pence sterling more, for every fourteen hundred weight of Sugars, and to thirty-six pounds, five shillings sterling more, for every hundred gallons of Rum, their accounts of sales now nett, as they have to what the rapacity of former Ministers has been, graciously, pleased *yet to leave them*. It is through the remissness of those groveling characters that the rights and properties of men are invaded, by the Peoples habitually receiving the mandates of a tyrant Minister, with a stupid insensibility, like the Paraguay Indians, * or with a song like

* “ The people of Paraguay are described as mere
 “ children in understanding. What wonder, consider-
 “ ing their condition under Jesuit government, with-
 “ out ambition, without property, without fear of
 “ want, and without desires? The natives were not
 “ suffered to have any property, but laboured incessant-
 “ ly for their daily bread. The men were employed in
 “ agriculture, the women in spinning. They sunk
 “ into a listless state of mind; and such was their in-
 “ difference

like some lively thoughtless slaves.—My Friends, and Countrymen! feeling with the keenest sensibility, the hardships which have been laid on you, I have endeavoured, by a full and candid representation of them, to impress you also with a just idea of their weight, and to determine you *no longer to resign your liberties and properties to the controul of others.*—There remains now for me only to wish, that the GOD of JUSTICE and Equity may give wisdom, before it is too late, to those in whose power it is to apply remedies, that every evil may be prevented which threatens us and them;—for, alas! those I have enumerated are but few to what are in store for us all, *if the Acts imposing the present Imposts on Sugar and Rums, and prohibitory Duties, are not repealed, and other more equitable laws substituted in their room, agreeable to the natural rights of mankind.*

In drawing to a conclusion, I make this repetition of what I have endeavoured to inculcate through the whole of these Reflections; and I hope, that Administration, and every owner of Plantations may think they have read it in every line, in every word: It will be as strongly impressed on their minds, if they wish well to themselves, to the community,

“ difference about what might befall them, that though
 “ they adored the Jesuits, yet they made no opposition
 “ when the Fathers were, A. D. 1767, attacked by the
 “ Spaniards, and their famous Republic demolished.”

LORD KAIMS,
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to the State and to the Constitution of England :—They must tremble at the events to come : *All is at stake*, and will be lost, *if the West-India Colonies shall be ruined through such unconstitutional oppressions.*

To my brother planters I need say little on the application, which we have received advice, the sugar-refiners intend again to make, *for leave to refine foreign Sugars.* The evil tendency of such a measure is so glaringly fatal, that no man can be an idle observer of the attempt. To the Minister I will be bold to say, that every resource to raise money for government should be tried in preference to one of so impolitic a nature, that would at one stroke subvert the whole system of our commercial laws, and sink the colonies to perdition. *But a patriot Minister* will not adopt such destructive measures : He will, in preference, dispense with so much of the act of navigation, as to suffer us to send the produce of our plantations, *in English bottoms* to any part of the world that shall be in amity with Great Britain. Thus accomplishing what is only given to a great Minister to undertake removing the fetters that have hitherto been improperly considered as *commercial policy.* May the present Minister, to his eternal honour, make the colonies, happily his instruments in extending the navigation, trade, and manufactures of the kingdom, far,
very

very far beyond any point they have hitherto reached ; *and make England the treasury of the universe* : *—The influx of its wealth *will be there*.—Should the Colonies and Great Britain, alas ! be doomed to experience different measures from any unwished and untoward event, the insignificant body of sugar-refiners may, perhaps, be indulged ; and I shall *then* think an excise will be levied (as I have proposed) whilst the present oppressive duties and restrictions are continued.—Should these things happen, we have but one resource left ; which is,—for the unfortunate Proprietors of Sugar-Plantations, with one accord, (as the last Petition of the Colonies) humbly to crave *that Administration will be graciously pleased to take these Plantations into THEIR hands*,—and give us the Imposts.—Thus shall the Trade, the Manufactures, the Revenues of Great Britain, be preserved *a little while longer* ; thus shall *we be, as long, saved from perishing* through want ;—and thus, in cruelty, mercy will be shewn, by our receiving *the coup de grace* !

* By this expression I desire to be understood, as to their weight in the scale of the Commonweal, not in respect to their Wealth, when set in competition with the consequence of the Sugar-Planters.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

SOME months since my first publication, and as this is going to the press, the English translation of Abbé Raynal's revolution of America fell into my hands. I should have thought it merit sufficient, merely to have followed him in his philosophical reasonings upon the natural and inherent rights of man; as my readers would probably have profited more than from the ideas I have ventured to give of those rights, and the violations of them before it made its appearance in this island. I have, however, been happy enough to express his sentiments in many instances. His thoughts can receive no diminution from my unequal abilities, whilst mine are strengthened by the opinions of such an able writer, and therefore it is that I anxiously hope my countrymen will attentively peruse his reasonings on those points. But in treating of the politics of America, he will, perhaps, be found a bad Logician. It may be more for the interest of our brethren of America, their truest policy, to be united to the glorious constitution of a limited monarchy, such as that of Great Britain, as under a parent, than to be its ally, and subjects of a republic; which is a many-headed tyrant.

Let Great Britain grant *to her Colonies* an exclusive right, as well to import the produce

of their lands, and *their manufacture* into her ports, free from levies upon importation, to enjoy trade with those restrictions only, that their fellow subjects in England and Ireland are subjected to, as to be exempt from all taxation, but what shall be made by *their Representatives*, for their own use. Let her declare that such produce, and such manufactures, shall be liable to no Excise, or other imposts but in the hands of the retailers, or consumers; upon an equality, and in proportion with all other the produce and manufactures of Great Britain, laying aside the narrow and confined idea, that the Colonies will then rival *her* manufactures: Are not the manufactures of *her Colonies*, *her* manufactures? Unless they can manufacture cheaper than the people in England, the manufactures *there* cannot be affected. It is "for the good of the whole" to suffer them to enjoy this right, or to import their raw materials free from Imposts. Her manufactures cannot suffer by the latter, and her trade and Navigation must be extended by the former; whilst the consumers will have them at cheaper rates, and her manufacturers be otherwise better employed, in those things that will admit of no competition. The subjects of the Empire in England, and in the Colonies, are its right and left hand; they ought equally to be at liberty for the good of the body politic.

America

America may then, as a Member of the Empire, under the protection of the Parent State, enjoy *the fruits of her labours*; with that peace and security which she, probably, will never otherwise know. She cannot as a distinct power, as an ally, have these advantages. A family strictly united whilst under a Parent as the head, acquire separate interests upon his demise; no affinity, no alliance, is equal in advantage for every part to the unity of it. Nor can any alliance of different States, be equal to the union of an Empire.

America took up arms to justify her violated, natural, inherent rights; by their being restored, and secured to her, the cause of disunion will be removed. But she now contends for Independency. This is a contest, at best, but to make themselves dependant on, and to become slaves to *France*, or to the lust of petty tyrants of their own. Happy will it prove if Administration and America thus meet each other, thus heal the wounds each has received, and thus unite their powers, for ever, to scourge the insolence and pride of France and Spain, whose thirst after dominion has for ages proved a curse to the human species.

Most happy had it been if the wisdom of our councils in 1766, when the ill-advised stamp act was repealed; had held forth such conciliatory encouragements to her colonies; instead of passing the yet more ill-advised, and
fatal

fatal Tea Act. Ere this, the Island of Jamaica would have seen riding in her ports, at least four times the shipping she has for these two years past; and Great Britain might have had an acquisition of, perhaps, twenty merchant ships for one, *now* employed in the trade of her colonies in this quarter of the Globe!

The reflection on that want of policy which has lost us such advantages, is, to a thinking mind misery in the extreme. It is most devoutly to be wished that Great Britain would instantly, without waiting for other terms being settled, restore, by repealing every offensive act, and secure to America her rights as proposed. Should she declare that all their produce and manufactures that shall come immediately from hence to her ports *shall be considered as coming from the Colonies, and shall reap the benefits and immunities of such.* Should she enact that all such ships going from America to any other state than Great Britain, or her Colonies, or going to America from such other states, shall be considered as vessels belonging unto a declared enemy, *until the reconciliation is completed*: She might vigorously carry on the war at sea, *against all her enemies.* Every clearance of a vessel met at sea, that shall prove to be false, should be considered as it really will be, a forgery committed by the master, and let him accordingly receive the condign punishment of a felon.

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For the more certain detection of such offences, it may be necessary that all the ships of war should send every vessel they meet coming from America, to that port to which she appears to be bound by her clearance; and all such they shall have just cause to suspect going to America, into the nearest port of Great Britain, or of some of her Colonies, to be there examined. America would then soon find it *her interest* with cordiality, to close with Britain's proffered reconciliation.

Between the Mother Country and her Colonies, says the judicious Lord Kaimes, the following rule ought to be sacred; That with respect to the commodities wanted, each of them should prefer the other before all other nations. Britain should take from her Colonies whatever they can bestow for her use; and they should take from Britain whatever she can furnish for their use. In a word, every thing regarding commerce ought to be reciprocal, and equal between them. To bar a colony from access to the fountain-head for commodities that cannot be furnished by the Mother Country, but at second-hand, is oppression; it is so far degrading the Colonists from being free subjects to be slaves. What right, for example, has Britain to prohibit her colonies from purchasing tea or porcelain at Canton, if they can procure it cheaper there than in London? No connexion between two nations can be so intimate,

timate, as to make such a restraint an act of justice. Our legislature, however, has acted like a stepmother to her American colonies, by prohibiting them to have any commerce but with Britain only. They must land first all their commodities, even what are not intended to be sold there; and they must take from Britain, not only its produce, but every foreign commodity that is wanted. This regulation is not only unjust, but impolitic; as by it, the interest of the Colonies in general is sacrificed to that of a few London Merchants. Our Legislature have at last so far opened their eyes, as to give a partial relief. Some articles are permitted to be carried directly to the place of destination, without being first entered in Britain; wheat for example, rice, &c. &c.

The capitulation of the islands of St. Christopher's and Nevis, is, if possible, more oppressive of the oppressions under which the Sugar Colonies labour, than all I have said, or can say; and will to the latest generations be a most severe opprobrium on the administration of Great Britain; which has left *it to her enemies to relieve her subjects from their burdens*; which has driven them to sell their King, and what remained to them of the constitution for the consideration of being *relieved of one third of the unequitable, partial impositions upon them, and to recover their inherent right of a free trade.* The eighth

eighth article of Capitulation runs thus,
 " The inhabitants shall pay monthly into
 " the hands of the treasurer of the troops,
 " in lieu of *all taxes, two thirds* of the duties
 " that the islands of St. Christopher's and
 " Nevis paid to the King of Great Britain :
 " which shall be estimated according to the
 " valuation of their revenues made in 1781,
 and which shall serve as a basis." And by
 the conclusion of the capitulation, *they are*
relieved from all restrictive trade laws. " It
 " is moreover covenanted, that the inhabi-
 " tents of these islands, with the permission
 " of their Governor, may export their mer-
 " chandize in neutral vessels *for all the ports*
 " *of Europe and America.*"

Will not England, after this, grant relief
 to the small portion of her remaining Colo-
 nies? Will she not, with mildness and e-
 quity, tell her subjects, who have been dri-
 ven from, or rather those who retain their
 allegiance, that she has erred, that *they* shall
 in peace and security, under their own fig-
 tree, enjoy the fruits of their labours, and
 ever receive the protection of an indulgent
 parent, whilst they act as obedient children.

I think it incumbent on me, before I take
 a final leave of the Planters, to say to those
 who by signing the late Memorial and Peti-
 tion have evinced a true patriotic sensibility
 of their situation, that a meeting should soon
 be held to give an opportunity to such of
 their Brother Planters, who have not been

convened, to concur : and in order to consider what farther steps are necessary to be taken to carry their measures into effect, as the mere act of signing a Memorial, or Petition, is not accomplishing the business : They must not stop there : What they have already done is nothing, if it is not pursued with an assiduous attention, and unremitting perseverance. They must not conceive that the sending these instruments to an Agent, to a Factor, or a Brother Planter, where attachment to us is doubtful, or who may be lukewarm upon the subject, can answer any good end : — They must not conceive that what has already been done in this affair, has been done without labour, expence and great loss of time, not without misrepresentations upon the most frivolous and unbecoming grounds.

As long as the universe exists, there will be men ready to oppose every public good, and to betray their country's welfare. On the other hand let it not be imagined that any man would have undergone all this labour, loss of time, and other difficulties that have already happened, without being animated with the warmest, most enthusiastic zeal for the cause; without the fullest conviction that himself and countrymen, are utterly ruined if they fail in the redress they seek ; neither must they expect that it will be brought to a happy issue without further exertions ; they must not conceive that their Petition will be granted

ed without opposition: They must look for it from every quarter, and it is to be hoped it will but serve to animate them the more. The Ministers may reluctantly adopt new measures, offered in opposition to those established. He may tread in the steps of his predecessors; he may think he is in a clear road: It is for us to shew him that it is full of briars and thorns; and that it terminates in the precipice of inevitable ruin!—Our Factors will find that we shall soon emancipate ourselves, that they will be deprived of much of their present *lucrative perquisites*: Their only concern.* The Refiners, the Distillers, the ignorant and Designing, and lastly the Consumers, (which includes all ranks of men) until they understand the question, will combine against us. A formidable phalanx to

* “ They rarely look further, than to see that the
 “ consignments arrive to their hands regularly and
 “ punctually. They chuse not to have the sober walk of
 “ Trade interrupted with politics; they are, therefore
 “ ever forward in censuring the Planters for leaving the
 “ *main chance*, to contend against violences; not considering that a Colony must cease to flourish, the Planters to be industrious, their settlements to thrive, trade itself to prosper, or their remittances to flow plentifully, whenever the Planters are deprived of those necessary benefits, protection and encouragements, which render their settlements worth maintaining, the Colonies vigorous.” History of Jamaica.—This is equally applicable to them on this occasion, as on that to which the Historian applied it.

contend

contend with! To maintain such a conflict will require the utmost exertions of resolution, labour and attention, as well as heavy expences; these must necessarily be the consequence. If you expect any success without this, you will be miserably deceived. The Memorial must be presented by some person, who is well informed, who feels, who knows your rights, and is equal to the undertaking; whose zeal for, and perseverance in the cause, *will not give way to the influence of power.* Every Planter must be disposed to afford his assistance, but a Committee of the principal Planters in England, should be associated with him, to give this grand concern, every support. The weight of the business will be borne by, and the labouring oar must fall on him, who undertakes the conduct of it; but without such assistance no one person can be adequate to the arduous task. The charges of soliciting this business must be great, yet the burden, individually, may be light, if borne "by all in proportion;" and as it is for the good of the whole, "it is but just that the whole should contribute." A tax that would raise a sum of money adequate to ONLY ONE HALFPENNY IN THE POUND upon the value of the gross produce of the Island, for this last year, would, probably, be more than sufficient to support your applications with credit and propriety. It is not to be expected, that whilst an individual is endeavouring to

serve

serve his country, he should altogether neglect himself. He may devote his labours to the Public, but the Public must bestow remunerations adequate to the expences attending the service. "It can be no reproach to any man to have a reasonable concern for his own property."

An opportunity, which with a heart-felt joy I embrace, is given me at the close of this small Work, to offer *my mite of a tribute* of acknowledgement for the signal deliverance this Island has happily experienced, even when within the very jaws of destruction, through the vigilance, activity and heroism of Lord RODNEY, who commanded the British fleet on the 12th day of April 1782, when the lillies of France withered at the blaze of the conquering English Hero, now crowned with the flags of Spain, Holland, and France, unfading laurels, whose fame, with that of the several commanders of his triumphant fleet, shall live for ever. The gratitude of the people of this island, and even of those of Great Britain, who have equally been saved from utter ruin by this most important and glorious event can never be sufficiently testified. But for the victorious RODNEY, whose name is immortalized, and the Heroes of that day, this island had fallen a sacrifice to neglect and perfidy; and England's sun had

had set, which now, I trust, shall shine for ever.

The Dissolution of the late weak Ministry, portend halcyon days to the Colonies—Let *their* imbecility, ignorance and wickedness* be buried with them; and let us the present oppressed planters, hope for a happy temporal resurrection to the enjoyment of the blessings of a free people; under the protection of a RODNEY, and the auspices of a wise Administration, who know the value of the Colonies, and the unalienable rights of Englishmen.

* As servants of the State it is that I have that degree of public dislike to them which every good citizen ought to possess; they are the measures of bad and impolitic Ministers that I would reprobate; I am too inconsiderable to be supposed to have any particular prejudices, or animosities against them, or even to be thought personally to know their private demerits, or virtues. Common sense, which I am perfectly inclined to credit has ascribed to some of them many good qualities in social life highly worthy of imitation and trust, that I shall not be so misunderstood, whilst I am thus shewing that love to the Public, and loyalty not only to the King, but to the true Constitution of my Country, which should be the boast of every Englishman, as to be suspected of descending to personal invective, against any man, however deficient he may have been in restoring the Glory of his Country; or at least in using his utmost endeavours to protract its Fall.

F I N I S.

